

THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF MARITIME HISTORY

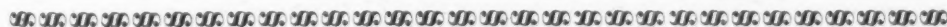


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VOLUME XV

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NUMBER 2

OUR readers had a good deal of fun with the guessing contest in the last number of NEPTUNE. In quick succession came correct answers from Andrew Hepburn, Jr., William A. Baker and John Lyman. James Ferguson and William Tobin were right behind them.

Plate 7 was Lewellyn J. Morse rigged to represent the United States frigate Constitution for the moving picture 'Old Ironsides.' Plate 8 was Santa Clara, supposed to represent a Barbary frigate in the same movie. They are shown in Catalina Harbor with Santa Catalina Island in the background during the filming of 'Old Ironsides' in 1926. Hollywood sailors account for such anomalies as studdingsails on the mizzen of 'Old Ironsides,' spreaders on the topmast heads of the other vessel, and the generally sloppy seamanship.

In referring in our last editorial to some of the rampages of Hurricane Hazel through the Southland, we spoke of her activities in the neighborhood of Newport, Virginia. However, it was Newport News that was intended, and in taking this occasion of correcting the error, we are afforded the pleasant opportunity of commenting on a curious place name that has long afforded a puzzle to those interested in that sort of thing and which has prompted much speculation and many legends.

Newport News, as NEPTUNE readers are well aware, is the location

of one of the nation's largest shipbuilding establishments and into the James River there have been launched both America's largest ship of commerce, the liner United States, and ship of war, the United States aircraft carrier Forrestal. First mention of the place name occurs in the Records of the Virginia Company, 11 November 1619, as 'Newportes Newes.' Thereafter, in the sixteen times that the location is mentioned, seven other spellings are employed.

Although the source of the name has been lost, the naming of Newport News is attributed, according to one school, to Captain Christopher Newport, commander of the fleet of three little ships that brought the pioneer colonists to Jamestown in 1607. Captain Newport was said to have brought good news to the ill and dispirited settlers on a subsequent voyage, thus providing the connection of the two words. Another school, however, attributes either Captain Thomas Newce or Sir William Newce as the source of the name. This derivation naturally would have made the word originally New Port Newce. Other assumptions are even more tenuous. One of them gives Newport Ness, ness meaning a headland. Although it is possible to say with some certainty how Newport News did not get its name, actually the origin is thoroughly obscured and the most logical explanation might well have been merely that of a pleasant alliteration between the two words.

Readers of the NEPTUNE are also well aware of the fact that The Mariners' Museum is situated a few miles north of Newport News. The museum's new director, Rear Admiral E. W. Sylvester, USN (Ret.) assumed his duties as these lines are being written and we wish him well on his new assignment.

ALEXANDER CROSBY BROWN
ERNEST S. DODGE

Newport News, Virginia
Peabody Museum of Salem

Ships That Tested the Blockade of the Georgia and East Florida Ports, 1861-1865

BY MARCUS W. PRICE

INSOFAR as its contributions to the war effort of the South and the material needs of its far-flung civilian populace are concerned, blockade running through the Georgia and East Florida ports during the War Between the States may be written off as an insignificant effort and be dismissed with a shrug. The extant records disclose that successful runs between these ports and foreign sources of supply were so infrequent after 1861, and the cargo capacities of most of the vessels that ran from the beginning until the end of the blockade were so small, the game was not worth the candle. They also make it clear why neither the Confederate Government, hard pressed as it was for arms, munitions, and equipment for its forces in the field, nor the Georgians and Floridians, whose appetites for the lush profits to be derived from successful blockade running, presumably, were as keen as those of their neighbors in the Carolinas and the Gulf states, ever attempted large-scale operations through any of the Georgia or East Florida ports.

From the date of the proclamation of blockade until the end of hostilities, only 225 vessels are known to have attempted to run into or out of these ports.¹ There appear to have been 1,302 of these attempts, compared with 2,960 and 2,054, respectively, to enter or leave the Gulf and Carolina ports, but the great majority, i.e. 1,123, were between 20 April and 31 December 1861, before the Federal cordons really had begun to tighten about the throats of the harbors. There were only 54 attempts in 1862, 60 in 1863, 63 in 1864, and two in 1865. This was piddling business, particularly in view of the fact that the overwhelming majority of these attempts were made by small schooners and sloops, whose percentages of successful efforts were discouragingly low.

¹ A vessel has been counted once for each year it ran; therefore, this statement should not be understood as meaning 225 different vessels ran.

There was no such collapse of the traffic through the Gulf or the Carolina ports after 1861. The number of sailing craft employed decreased from year to year, because it had soon become evident both to the Confederate Government and private adventurers that their lack of speed made them last-resort substitutes in the cat and mouse game being played with the United States Navy. But the use of steamers, which had proven themselves to be the *sine qua non* of successful blockade running, steadily increased until 1864 in the Gulf trade and until 1865 in the traffic with the Carolina ports. There were 21 steamers running into and out of the latter ports in 1861. By the end of 1862, the number had increased to 45. In 1863, there were 73 so employed. By the close of the following year, there were 98. Even though Wilmington, North Carolina, was occupied in January 1865, and Charleston, South Carolina, the next most important port in the Carolinas, was evacuated by its defenders in February of the same year, 24 steamers ran to and from these ports in 1865.² The steamer build-up in the Gulf was less spectacular, rising from 34 in 1861 to 38 in 1863. It dropped to 25 in 1864, apparently, because the demand for such vessels exceeded the available supply, and remained at that figure until the end of hostilities.³

Only 35 steamers are known to have participated in the Georgia-East Florida trade during the entire existence of the blockade. Even these revealing figures do not tell the whole story; because, actually, only four of the steamers that ran in 1861 and 20 of those that ran thereafter were engaged in foreign trade.

Of the 1,123 known attempts to violate the blockade of the Georgia and East Florida ports between 20 April and 31 December 1861, only 133 were made by vessels running to or from foreign harbors. The remaining 990 were by coastwise traders that, in the early months of the war, took full advantage of the opportunities offered by the unguarded inland waterways.

The most famous of the steamers engaged in the coastwise traffic was *St. Johns*. Between the date of the imposition of the blockade and 1 January 1862, she made 486 successful runs—the greatest number accomplished by any vessel, sail or steam-propelled, during the war—all in the course of her regularly scheduled and advertised trips between Savannah, Georgia, and Palatka, Florida, via Darien, Brunswick, and St. Marys,

² Marcus W. Price, 'Ships That Tested the Blockade of the Carolina Ports, 1861-1865,' *THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE*, VIII (1948), 196-241.

³ Marcus W. Price, 'Ships That Tested the Blockade of the Gulf Ports, 1861-1865,' *THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE*, XI (1951), 262-290, and immediately succeeding issues.

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Georgia, and Fernandina, Hibernia, Magnolia, Picolata, and Toccoi, Florida.⁴

Her sister ship, the steamer *St. Marys*, successfully violated the blockade 307 times during the same period, running up her impressive total by calling at Brunswick, Darien, and St. Marys, Georgia, and Fernandina, Jacksonville, Magnolia, Picolata, and Toccoi, Florida, while en route between Savannah and Palatka.^{4, 5}

The steamer *Cecile*, which later was to achieve a measure of fame as one of the early mainstays of Charleston's trade with Nassau, accomplished a total of 46 runs into and out of Georgia and East Florida ports between 20 April and 31 December 1861.

Other steamers that participated in the extensive coastwise traffic in 1861 were *Br. Barnett*, *Carolina (Kate)*, *Dixie*, *General Beauregard*, *John A. Moore*, *Manassas*, *John Randolph*, *Wm. Seabrook*, and *Marion*.

By 1 January 1862, every one of these steamers, except *Carolina* and *Cecile*, had retired from the Georgia-East Florida trade, and not many months were to elapse before even they would be found engaged in the more important and lucrative business of running to and from foreign *entrepôts*.

Dixie, *John Randolph*, *Marion*, *John A. Moore*, *Wm. Seabrook*, and *Br. Barnett* are known to have gone to Charleston. *Br. Barnett* appears in the *Carolina* records as *Barnett*. *St. Johns* was tied up at Savannah on 23 February 1862,⁶ and appears to have been there continuously since December 1861. In all events, she did not leave that port until February 1863, when she slipped out and ran safely to Nassau with 250 bales of cotton.

St. Marys was sunk in Haw Creek, Florida, to prevent her capture by the enemy. *The Savannah Republican* of 14 May 1863 printed an advertisement by Claghorn and Cunningham, agents for her owners, stating that she would be sold at public auction on 27 May 'to close a concern.' In this notice of sale, *St. Marys* was described as 'an iron boat and of great

⁴ Ship news, advertisements, and articles published in *The Savannah Republican* in 1861, and records of the collectors of customs of several of the Georgia and East Florida ports listed herein under 'References.'

It is possible, of course, that on a particular trip between Savannah and Palatka there was no occasion for *St. Johns* to call at one or more of the 'whistle-stops' on her schedule, such as Picolata and Toccoi, and there appear to be no records extant (if there ever were) showing arrivals at and departures from these small places. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, I have assumed that the steamer actually made all scheduled stops. Since she is known to have carried passengers and the mails as well as freight, this does not seem to have been an unreasonable assumption.

⁵ It has been assumed, as in the case of *St. Johns* and for the same reasons, that *St. Marys* made all scheduled stops. In tabulating the total number of runs accomplished by her, note has been taken of an advertisement published in *The Savannah Republican* of 5 October 1861, to the effect that *St. Marys* no longer would clear for Darien.

⁶ *The Savannah Republican*, 24 February 1862.

speed.' Her measurements were given as: length 160 feet, beam 28 feet, hold 9 feet, tons 400. She was said to be divided into three watertight compartments, and to have two inclined, low-pressure engines of 420 horsepower. The sale was held at the time advertised, and *St. Marys* brought \$97,100—'a pretty round price,' the paper commented the next day, 'considering she is submerged.'

St. Marys was destroyed in the St. Johns River on 9 February 1864. Apparently, she had never made a successful run after 1861.

Doubtless, the heavy coastwise traffic carried on during the early months of the war served its purposes well. Troops assigned to duty at various points along the coast must have been taken to their stations and supplied with available materiel. Civilians were transported. The mails went through. News of the progress of the war was brought to the anxious inhabitants of the ports of call. There was the usual exchange of indigenous products. But there is no evidence whatever that this shuttling of vessels made a significant contribution toward the successful prosecution of the war or the sustenance of the people residing in the hinterlands.

There appears to have been little coastwise traffic after 1861. By this time, many of the 'mouse-holes' through which it had been running at will had been plugged and most of the steamer runners had departed or retired from the trade.

The traffic with foreign ports also diminished to a trickle. In 1862, only 13 attempts to run were made by steamers. Nine of these were successful. In 1863 also there were 13 steamer attempts. Nine got safely through. Only three of the seven attempts made by steamers in the following year succeeded. The one steamer mentioned in the 1865 records was captured in the Savannah River. It is not known whether she was trying to run when taken.

The extant records throw considerable light on why the utilization of any of the Georgia or East Florida ports for blockade running operations on a major scale was never seriously contemplated after 1861.

Writing from Savannah on 2 September 1864 to Confederate Secretary of the Treasury George A. Trenholm, Gazaway Bugg Lamar stated that 'the fleet blockading Wilmington is so numerous that the port may be considered closed. Charleston is not much safer. Mobile is shut up, and blockade running must be abandoned unless we can get some safer harbors. These should be carefully selected and increased, so as to divide the blockading force. . . .'⁷ He suggested that 'the importance of this

⁷ Lamar, a banker and a man of wealth and influence in Georgia, appears to have been the leading blockade-running adventurer in the Georgia-East Florida region. Existing records indicate that the corporation of which he was president ran out most of its cotton through the port of Wilming-

business to the Confederacy ought to justify a survey by competent officers and the adoption of necessary measures to insure safety in some measure to the steamers,' and appealed to Trenholm to have a commission appointed 'to survey Savannah, Sapelo, Doboy, both sides of the Florida peninsula, and Apalachicola, &c, &c.' An endorsement by Secretary Trenholm on the back of this letter states that it was submitted without delay to the Secretary of War, and was by him referred to the Engineer Bureau. Trenholm's endorsement also states that 'a difficulty is supposed to exist that is not mentioned [in Lamar's letter]—the entrances of these bays are not protected, and vessels entering have to proceed up the rivers for safety. When they are known to have entered a single blockader anchored at the mouth of the river prevents their egress.' An endorsement by the Secretary of War reports that the matter had been investigated some months previously and that the ports 'are not now available.' In his endorsement, Major General J. F. Gilmer, of the Confederate Engineer Bureau, agreed with the opinion expressed by Secretary Trenholm in his endorsement.⁸

While the blockades of Wilmington, Charleston, and Mobile were dangerously tight at the time Lamar wrote, the existing records disclose that the situation was not nearly so desperate as it was pictured.

The ports of Brunswick and St. Marys, Georgia, and Fernandina, Jacksonville, and St. Augustine, Florida, had been captured by United States forces early in 1862, and thereafter either were in the hands of the enemy or under such close surveillance as to render them useless to the Confederacy. Palatka's availability, as well as that of Jacksonville, which had not been permanently occupied, was negated by the withdrawal of Confederate forces from East Florida, the maintenance of an effective patrol of the mouth of the St. Johns River, and the dispatching of a Federal warship up that stream from time to time. The establishment by the United States Navy at Port Royal, South Carolina, just a few miles from the mouth of the Savannah River, of the base for the entire South Atlantic Blockading Squadron, and the fall of Fort Pulaski on 10 April 1862 slammed shut for the duration of the war the main entrance to Savannah harbor and quite effectively eliminated that city from further consideration as a major port.⁹

ton, North Carolina, though some shipments appear to have been made through Charleston, Mobile, and other ports.

⁸ Letters of the Secretary of the Treasury of the Confederate States, 1861-65, in the National Archives.

⁹ An article in the *Savannah Morning News* of 21 February 1897 points out that the long, narrow channel of the Savannah River was not well suited to blockade running, and that Fort Pulaski effectively commanded the entrance to the river.

The blockading of the East Florida ports had never been a source of particular concern to the United States Navy. In its third report to U. S. Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles, the *Conference for the consideration of measures for effectually blockading the South Atlantic Coast*, consisting of Captain S. F. DuPont and Commander C. H. Davis, both of the Navy, A. D. Bache, superintendent of the U. S. Coast Survey, and Major J. G. Barnard, of the U. S. Engineers, gave little attention to East Florida. Insofar as Jacksonville and St. Augustine were concerned, the members of the Conference stated they presumed these two ports would be blockaded in the usual manner. The lower coast, they suggested, might be placed under the scrutiny of two small cruisers, by which its shores would be continually traversed and its bays inspected. 'It can hardly be said to be inhabited,' the conferees commented, 'and is of no great consequence as a convenient place of resort for pirates.'¹⁰

The lower East Florida ports could never have been utilized for blockade running on a large scale for the simple and conclusive reason that they were without railroad facilities.¹¹

The extant records relating to blockade running through the port of Savannah are both voluminous and illuminating.

While the blockade of the Georgia and East Florida ports had been proclaimed by President Lincoln on 19 April 1861,¹² no immediate attempt was made to interfere with the considerable traffic through the port of Savannah. On 28 May 1861, *Union*, a small Federal steamer of 600 tons chartered by the month for the purpose, dropped anchor off the mouth of the Savannah River and notified neutral vessels lying in the harbor that they would be required to clear and sail from Savannah within fifteen days. *Union* is reported to have disappeared on 1 June and to have left the port unguarded until 10 June, when she returned and resumed her rôle as sole enforcer of the blockade.¹³

In the meantime, business as usual had been the order of the day. John Boston's weekly returns to the Confederate Treasury Department covering moneys received by him as collector of customs of the Port showed that he had collected \$29,033.63 in the form of duties on imports be-

¹⁰ *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. 12.

¹¹ Maps published in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. 12.

Alfred Jackson Hanna and Kathryn Abbey Hanna state in their book, *Florida's Golden Sands*, that 'cargoes landed in Indian River were hauled overland to the upper St. Johns and loaded on small steamers. Wagon trains took the cargoes and carried them to Waldo on the Florida Railroad.'

¹² E. Molyneux, British Consul at Savannah, to Lord John Russell, H.B.M.'s Secretary for Foreign Affairs. (Photostatic copy of despatch dated 23 December 1861.)

Mountague Bernard, *A Historical Account of the Neutrality of Great Britain during the American Civil War* (London, 1870), pp. 239-240.

tween 20 and 30 April 1861.¹³ His weekly returns for May acknowledged the receipt of import duties aggregating \$13,824.12.¹³ No export duties appear to have been collected by Boston during either month; however, he wrote Confederate Secretary of the Treasury Memminger on 1 May 1861 that the schooner *A. A. Bandel* had cleared for Ponce, Porto Rico, 'on Monday last,' and other records show the departures of two steamers, two brigs, a ship, and a sloop in May. Seven ships, two barks, a brig, and a schooner are known to have arrived at Savannah during that month.¹⁴ All of these vessels, except the schooner, were from foreign ports, and all the clearances were foreign, except those of the two steamers.¹⁴

In terms of duties collected, the volume of business done at the Port decreased sharply in June. Collector Boston's reports for that month show that no export duties were received, and that import duties amounted to only \$1,968.34. The number of entrances and clearances, however, continued to rise, totalling 24—eight more than in May.^{13, 14} Two of the arrivals and nine of the departures were in the course of foreign trade.

Collections continued to fall in July. Import duties paid amounted to only \$667.13. There were no export duties.¹³ The numbers of arrivals and clearances held up fairly well, however, there being eleven of the former and ten of the latter. Significantly, all of these were coastwise, with one exception. The schooner *Adeline* ran in from Nassau and out for Havana.¹³

Three Federal blockaders had been sighted off Tybee Island on 18 July,¹⁵ but their presence had not disturbed the runners. A. Fullerton, Acting British Consul at Savannah, explained why in his despatch of 22

¹³ Cotton and captured property records of the Confederate States of America in General Records of the Department of the Treasury (U.S.), National Archives, Record Group No. 56.

The records that remain do not show the arrivals of any vessels at the Port of Savannah between 20 and 30 April 1861, and it seems likely that the import duties collected by Boston during this period were paid on merchandise that had been brought into Savannah by vessels prior to the imposition of the blockade. Existing customhouse records show the withdrawal for consumption, during May 1861, of goods imported in specified vessels on unspecified dates. The vessels mentioned were the steamer *Florida*, the brig *Black Fish* (sometimes written *Blackfish*), and *Montgomery*, *Huntsville*, *Alabama*, and *Sea Ranger*, all unclassified, from New York, New York; *W. E. Alexander*, unclassified, from Cardenas; *Keystone State* and *S. F. Abbott*, unclassified, from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; *State of Georgia*, *Potomac*, and *Chesapeake*, unclassified, from Baltimore, Maryland; and *Laura Francis*, unclassified, from Thomaston, Georgia.

¹⁴ List of vessels that had arrived at and cleared from Savannah and other Confederate ports since the proclamation of blockade, transmitted 2 September 1861, by Confederate Assistant Secretary of State W. M. Browne to Cridland, British Acting Consul at Richmond, Virginia. (Photostatic copy. Foreign Office 5, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.)

Abstract of duties collected by Thomas Ledwith, Collector of Customs, Port of Jacksonville, Florida, May 1861. (Record Group No. 56, National Archives.)

Pickett Papers. (Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.)

Diario De La Marina, Havana, Cuba, 23 May 1861.

Mercantile Weekly Report (Extra), Havana, Cuba, 4 January 1862.

¹⁵ *The Savannah Republican*, 20 July 1861.

August 1861 to Lord Russell. He wrote:¹⁶ '... In no instance has a vessel succeeded in running the blockade by the river, or main entrance. ... The inlets and arms of the sea, forming the numerous islands on this coast, afford inland means of communication by water navigable by vessels not exceeding 200 tons between this port and the smaller ones to the south. ... The British schooner which I formerly reported as having successfully run the blockade [*Adeline*] has again done so. She left this port on the 19th of July for Havana, getting to sea on the 21st through one of the inlets above mentioned, without seeing anything whatever of a blockading vessel. ... Besides being too few ... the vessels used by the U. S. Government for blockading seem to be too large for that purpose. They cannot prevent vessels of a small size from leaving or approaching. ...'

One William Sewell wrote to Secretary Gideon Welles from New York on 19 October 1861,¹⁷ saying that he had seen a letter from an officer on board U.S.S. *Iroquois* which was stationed off Savannah. In this letter, written in August of that year, Sewell quotes the officer as stating: 'We are some 12 miles from the shore; can just see the outlines of the land and that is all; the *St. Lawrence* is here also. The blockade is a perfect farce, I think, for we can see steamers run up and down the coast every day and we are so far off that we are useless; before we could get under way, they would be out of sight.'

Receipts at the Savannah customhouse rose markedly in August 1861. Collector Boston reported import duties paid in the amount of \$3,150.58.¹⁸ There were eight arrivals and eleven clearances during the month. Two of these arrivals and one of the clearances were accomplished by vessels engaged in foreign trade.

In September 1861, the Collector's receipts were higher than at any time since April. While there still were no export duties, those on imports amounted to \$23,538.24.¹⁹

Fullerton wrote Lord Russell on 11 October 1861: '... Since the beginning of September, the blockade of this port has been less strictly maintained than at any other period since its commencement. Intermissions of the Blockade have been very frequent during which the entrance to the river was left quite unobstructed. These intermissions have not been caused by the weather, or, as far as can be observed, by chasing vessels endeavouring to break the Blockade.

'During one of these intermissions the screw steamer *Bermuda*, of Liv-

¹⁶ Foreign Office 5, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

¹⁷ *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. 12, p. 222.

erpool, arrived (17th of September,) 700 tons, Tessier master. Official No. 42,608. Cargo of guns, rifles, and other munitions of war. . . . On the 16th of September this vessel coasted for about 40 miles to the south without seeing any blockading vessel. . . .'¹⁶

There were eight other entrances during September, as well as nine clearances. Four of these clearances and one of the arrivals were by vessels engaged in trade with foreign ports.^{13, 16, 18}

Collector Boston's monthly report to the Confederate Treasury Department showed that only \$2,499.83 were received as duties on imports in October 1861.¹³ It also showed, for the first time, the collection of duties on exports—the sum of \$1,246 paid on cotton shipped on board the steamer *Bermuda*.¹⁹ In spite of the drastic drop in receipts, Savannah harbor was filled with shipping. There were 23 arrivals and 19 clearances during the month—the largest number of vessels in the harbor since the blockade had been proclaimed. Included among the arrivals were two steamers and eight sailing craft from foreign ports. Eight vessels cleared for foreign ports. There were no steamers among them.

John Boston wrote Secretary Memminger on 15 October 1861: ' . . . The absence of the blockading fleet is of frequent occurrence, sometimes as long as one or two weeks in good weather. . . .'¹³

The high cost of living appears to have been one of the incentives to the increased activity.

Fullerton informed Lord Russell:¹⁶ 'The high prices which many of the necessities of life command in the South have stimulated the people to greater exertions in procuring a larger supply. Accordingly, many parties here are fitting out a number of small vessels suitable for the West Indian trade and the peculiarities of this coast. . . . These vessels will not go out by the river—they run less risk by departing by some of the inlets to the south, which they reach from the City through the channel inside the islands which form the coast of this State.'

As proof of the gross inadequacy of the blockade, Fullerton added: 'The line of steamers between this City and the St. Johns River, Florida, has kept up an uninterrupted communication. These steamers always go out to sea from the St. Marys to the St. Johns bars. Occasionally, they

¹⁸ *The Index*, London, England, issue of 15 May 1862.

¹⁹ Apparently, this was the first cotton shipped out of Savannah to a foreign port after the imposition of the blockade. As in Charleston and other Southern ports, there had been strong opposition in Savannah to the exportation of the staple to Europe. Twenty-one cotton factors doing business in Savannah had published a notice in *The Savannah Republican* of 26 August 1861, addressed to the cotton planters of Georgia in which they urged their customers and correspondents not to ship any portion of their cotton to Savannah and not to remove it from their plantations until the blockade had been fully and entirely abandoned.

see a blockading vessel off the St. Johns or Fernandina bars, but not sufficiently near to prevent regular ingress and egress. . . .'

Receipts at the Savannah customhouse continued to drop in November 1861, no export duties being collected and the revenue from imports totalling only \$2,119.43. It appears, however, that there were 22 arrivals and 15 clearances during the month. Of the four vessels from foreign ports, the most important was the screw steamer *Fingal*, of Glasgow, Scotland, Hugh Anderson, master, which arrived at Wassaw Island at 4 P.M. on 12 November, crossed the bar of the Savannah River at 7 P.M. without seeing a single blockader and steamed up the river into Savannah harbor.²⁰

The steamers *Bermuda* and *Glyde* and six sailing vessels appear to have departed for foreign ports during the month.

Import duties collected by Boston during December 1861 amounted to \$8,644.97, or more than four times the amount paid for such duties during the previous month.¹³ The additional sum of \$285.60 was received as export duty on cotton.¹³ It seems obvious that a large proportion of the money collected in the form of duties on imports during the month of December represented duties assessed on goods actually imported in November, since only three small sailing craft arrived from foreign ports during the former month.¹³ The steamer *Manassas* also put in from the nearby port of Darien. The export duty collected by Boston was on cotton to be shipped on the steamer *Fingal*. This vessel never ran out of Savannah as a blockade runner. Acting Consul A. Fullerton reported her capture to Lord Russell on 30 June 1863,²¹ explaining that she had been 'cut down and re-built on the *Merrimac* model,' converted into an ironclad, and re-christened *Atlanta*.

The only known clearance during December was that of the steamer *Manassas*, which ran out safely to Charleston.¹³

In reporting the arrival of the schooners *Victoria* and *Mary* (*Mary* really was a sloop) at Savannah from Havana, British Consul E. Molyneux explained that both of these vessels had come in by the inland passage, and commented that the Federal Government 'has adopted an unusual mode of blocking the Savannah River, namely—by sinking across the channel vessels loaded with stone.'²² Two days later, he wrote Russell that 17 vessels had anchored within the bar of the Savannah

²⁰ E. Molyneux, British Consul at Savannah, to Lord Russell, 26 November 1861. (Photostatic copy of despatch. Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, F.O. 5.)

²¹ Foreign Office 5, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Photostatic copy of despatch.

²² E. Molyneux to Lord Russell. (Photostatic copy of despatch dated 7 December 1861. F.O. 5, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.)

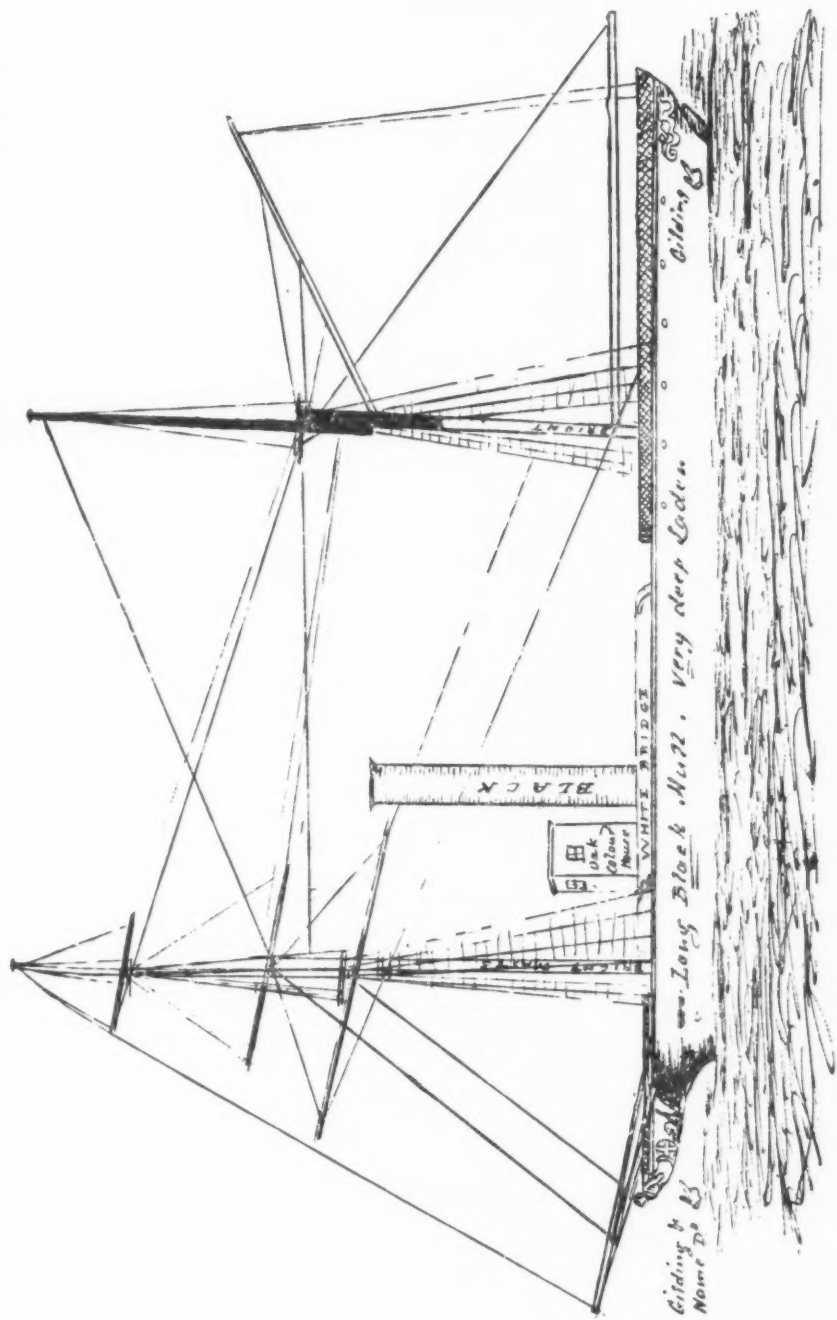


Figure 1. Sketch of *Fingal* of Glasgow, screw, of about 400 tons, 10 Oct. 1861. She is housed over amidships, forming the bridge which is colored white as seen above. Her name *Fingal* of Glasgow is in large gilt letters on her stern and *Fingal* also in gilt letters on her head rails.

River. Seven of these, he reported, were war steamers, including three gunboats, and the residue were old merchantmen 'supposed to be loaded with stone to be sunk.'^{22, 23}

Flag Officer DuPont informed U. S. Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles on 4 December 1861: 'Savannah is completely stopped up. . .'²⁴ That was not quite true, as the schooner *Parliament* proved when she ran in safely from Nassau on 17 December, but the blockade was getting

²³ Writing from his ship, *Savannah*, which was lying off Tybee Island on 5 December 1861, to Flag Officer DuPont, commanding officer of the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron, who was then at its Port Royal, South Carolina, base, Commander J. S. Missroon reported the arrival of 17 ships and barks, 'chiefly old whale vessels,' at Tybee, and that he understood that many more were on their way. He added that there were few good vessels among them, and that all were badly found in every respect, especially in ground tackle, few having more than one chain and anchor, and one of them, *Richmond*, having no anchor. Several of the vessels, he wrote, were in a sinking condition. 'The *Meteor* parted her only chain and went ashore yesterday. . . . The ship *Lewis* is also ashore and bilged. The ship *Phoenix* struck in trying to enter the harbor, and was towed in, leaking badly, with loss of rudder. It being certain that she would exhaust her crew and would sink where it would be desirable she should not, I had her towed where she makes a good break-water and bridge for landing on Tybee Island from the shipping, and where she now lies.'

'The ship *Archer* also struck three times on the night of the 3d instant, off Savannah Bar Shoals, and is leaking badly, and said to be unfit now to go to sea.'

Missroon protested that 'this large and unexpected accumulation of ships within a very limited circle, and their very insufficient ground tackle render this anchorage unsafe, both for them and the vessels of this squadron in the event of storms. . . .'

DuPont ordered Missroon to permit Commander Lanier of *Alabama* to tow these stone fleet vessels to Port Royal, and told him to sink any of them for a wharf at Tybee 'if you want to.'

A 'List of old whaling vessels purchased by order of the Navy Department and loaded with stone, ordered to the port of Savannah, to sail from New Bedford and New London, Wednesday, November 20, 1861,' includes the following information:

Name	Type	Tons	Port of Departure
<i>Corea</i>	ship	356	New London, Conn.
<i>Tenedos</i>	bark	245	" " "
<i>Lewis</i>	ship	308	" " "
<i>Fortune</i>	bark	292	" " "
<i>Robin Hood</i>	ship	395	" " "
<i>Archer</i>	"	322	New Bedford, Mass.
<i>Cossack</i>	bark	254	" " "
<i>Amazon</i>	"	318	" " "
<i>Frances Henrietta</i>	bark	407	" " "
<i>Garland</i>	"	243	" " "
<i>Harvest</i>	"	314	" " "
<i>American</i>	"	329	" " "
<i>Rebecca Sims</i>	ship	400	" " "
<i>L. C. Richmond</i>	"	341	" " "
<i>Courier</i>	"	381	" " "
<i>Maria Theresa</i>	"	330	" " "
<i>Kensington</i>	"	357	" " "
<i>Herald</i>	"	274	" " "
<i>Potomac</i>	"	356	" " "
<i>Leonidas</i>	bark	231	" " "
<i>South American</i>	"	606	" " "
<i>Peter Demill</i>	"	300	New York, N. Y.
<i>Timor</i>	ship	289	New London, Conn.
<i>Meteor</i>	"	324	" " "
<i>Phoenix</i>	"	404	" " "

(Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. 12, pp. 118-120.)

²⁴ Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. 12, pp. 380-381.

dangerously tight. Two ships, *Admiral* and *Cheshire*, loaded with such necessities as blankets, coal, and salt, were nabbed off the Savannah River within a single week. A few days earlier, the depressed Molyneaux had written Lord Russell: '... If the blockade be not raised, I can confidently predict that Great Britain will not receive 2,000 bales of American cotton during 1862. . . .'²⁵

The Savannah Republican reported to the anxious citizens of that city on 25 February 1862 that a reconnaissance made by the steamer *Savannah* the day before had disclosed that communications between Savannah and Fort Pulaski had been cut and the river had been closed to traffic. Batteries containing guns of heavy caliber, most of them having a range of three miles, had been erected by the enemy on Venus' Point, in a small marsh just north of Long Island, commanding the south channel, and on boats moored in Mud River. These three batteries, the paper stated, formed a triangle and could not be passed 'by any vessel in our service.'

Collector John Boston did not receive a penny for export duties during the first six months in 1862.²⁵ Import duties collected totalled \$47.10 in January and \$55.05 in February. In March, they were even less, amounting to \$10.77.²⁵ In April, however, they rose to the more respectable figure of \$796.40, apparently as the result of the arrival at Savannah, through the inland passage, of the brigantine *Standard*, of Nova Scotia. She had first entered St. Catherine's Sound, according to Molyneaux.²⁶

As Molyneaux wrote, a momentous event was taking place of which, apparently, he was unaware. The Confederate colors were being hauled down at Fort Pulaski and the stars and stripes were going up. This was a body blow to blockade running through the port of Savannah, for as long as the fort remained in enemy hands runners could not use the river.

Small sailing craft continued to run in occasionally by the inland waterway. Boston collected \$388.09 for import duties in May 1862, and \$123.51 for such duties in the following month, as well as \$888.34 in the form of duties on unclaimed merchandise.

So the customhouse continued to operate, even though it apparently was not making expenses.

The Savannah Republican showed the way the wind was blowing. Sales of goods run through the blockade into Wilmington, Charleston, and the Gulf ports were being advertised in its issues with increasing fre-

²⁵ Photostatic copy of despatch dated 4 December 1861. F.O. 5, Library of Congress.

²⁶ Despatch, E. Molyneaux to Lord Russell, dated 10 April 1862. (F.O. 5, Library of Congress, photostatic copy.)

quency, and it commented on 9 June 1862 that it had learned Savannah merchants were the largest purchasers at sales recently held at Charleston and Lake City, Florida.

During July 1862, the United States Navy loosened its grip on the throat of Savannah harbor, and Acting British Consul Fullerton dutifully reported to his Foreign Office that a considerable portion of the fleet, apparently, had gone to Charleston to participate in the operations then in progress there. 'The consequence,' he wrote, 'is the revival of trade with the West Indies.'²⁷

During this all too brief respite, the steamer *Nashville* slipped into Savannah harbor, and the schooner *Victoria*, which had been lying there awaiting a favorable opportunity to get out, put to sea with a cargo of cotton.²⁸ *Victoria* was captured on 14 July 1862 off the Hole-in-the-Wall, not far from Nassau.

Nashville was hurriedly fitted out as a privateer by citizens of Savannah who had obtained letters of marque from the Confederate Government.²⁹ She attempted to escape from Savannah on the night of 27 July 1862, but grounded on a sand bar. The next morning she was shelled by the enemy, set afire, and burned.²⁹

John Boston collected \$2,676.95 in the form of current import duties during July, presumably on *Nashville*'s cargo, as well as \$2,551.34 on the cargo of the prize brig *Santa Clara* that had been run into Savannah in 1861.¹³ Export duties received at the customhouse during the month totalled \$507.82. Such evidence as is available indicates that these duties were imposed on cotton exported on *Victoria* and on the steamer *Reliance*, which was captured on 21 July, three days out from Doboy Sound with 243 bales of sea-island cotton aboard.

Boston did not collect any duties on imports in either August or September. He reported to Secretary Memminger¹³ that he had received \$587.38 for export duties in August and \$42.70 more from the same source in September.¹³ These receipts make it appear that at least one steamer got out of Savannah in August and that a small sailing vessel ran out of that port in September, but the records available do not substantiate these assumptions.

Absolutely no business was done by the customhouse in October.¹³ Import duties in the amounts of \$21.00 and \$5.54, respectively, were collected in November and December.¹³ In the latter month, Boston also received export duties totalling \$11.20.¹³

²⁷ Photostatic copy of despatch, Fullerton to Russell. (F.O. 5, Library of Congress.)

²⁸ Heyliger to Judah P. Benjamin, 19 July 1862. (Pickett Papers, Library of Congress.)

²⁹ A. Fullerton to Russell, 7 March 1863. (F.O. 5, Library of Congress.)

The total receipts of the customhouse for export and import duties during the calendar year 1862, therefore, were only \$8,713.19—a decrease of ninety per cent as compared with the amount collected in 1861!

Business was even worse in 1863. No import duties whatever were collected in February, March, April, 1-30 May, inclusive, September, October, November, or December of that year.¹³ Such duties received in January amounted to \$8.64.¹³ Boston's return for the period 31 May-15 June shows the amount collected as \$399.12, but does not indicate what, if any, part of this money consisted of import duties paid. No such duties were received during the remainder of the month of June.¹³ There were no receipts whatever in July.¹³ In August, collections totalled \$318.15 during the first fifteen days of the month.¹³ There were none thereafter.¹³ The amount collected was not itemized.

During January 1863, the steamer *Chatham*, with 300 bales of cotton, and the sloops *Petie*, *Aurelia*, and *Benetor*, with eight, six, and six and a half bales, respectively, departed from Savannah.¹³ Export duties collected during the month were in the amount of \$219.80.¹³ In February, the steamer *St. Johns* slipped out with 250 bales of cotton, and the schooners *Swift* and *Glide* sailed with a total of 92 bales more.¹³ Export duties for the month amounted to \$239.40.¹³ In March they were only \$182.70,¹³ and were paid on 247 bales of cotton shipped on the steamer *Charleston* and 14 bales run out on the sloop *Eagle*.¹³ Twenty-five dollars and twenty cents were collected in export duties in April.¹³ During this month, the schooner *Swift* went out again with 20 bales. The sloop *Anna* also departed with seven bales, and the sloop *Evening Star* paid duty on nine bales, but appears not to have sailed until May. During that month, the schooner *Bertha* and the sloops *Kate*, *Caroline*, and *Coronet* departed from Savannah, carrying a total of 40 bales on which the duty paid amounted to \$28.00.¹³ The sloop *Mary* ran out in June with 12 bales, on which \$8.40 in export duties were collected by Boston.¹³

Acting British Consul A. Fullerton reported to his Foreign Office on 30 June 1863 that the Confederate ironclad *Atlanta*, formerly the blockade-running steamer *Fingal*, 'cut down and re-built on the *Merrimac* model,' had been captured trying to get out of Savannah. He added inaccurately that 'no instance of running the blockade of the coast of Georgia has occurred for many months.'³⁰

While, as stated above, Collector Boston's return for the first 15 days in August 1863 is not itemized, it seems obvious that the entire amount collected by him during that period, i.e. \$318.15, was for export duty

³⁰ F.O. 5, Library of Congress. Photostatic copy of despatch.

paid on 330 bales of cotton shipped by the steamer *Oconee*, which left Savannah on 18 August, but foundered at sea the next day.³¹

The steamer *Herald* left for Nassau in September 1863, and export duty in the amount of \$176.40 was collected on the 252 bales of cotton she carried.³² The following month, export duties received at the customhouse amounted to only \$4.90, representing the sum paid on seven bales carried by the sloop *Marie Louise*. Collector Boston, who took a chance occasionally in spite of the heavy odds against success, owned four of the bales that went out on her.³²

Two hundred and ten dollars were received for export duties in November 1863.³³ Boston's return states that this amount was for duty on cotton exported, but does not name the vessel or vessels by which it was run out of Savannah. It appears, however, that the steamer *Chatham*, which had entered Savannah on an unascertained date in 1863, cleared that port for Nassau on 19 November 1863 with 300 bales aboard.³³ She was captured in Doboy Sound on 16 December 1863, outward bound.³⁴ Apparently, she had left Savannah by the inland waterway.

Three sloops, *James Grubbs*, with 23 bales of cotton, *Jane Godfrey*, with 18 bales, and *Anna Thompson*, with 40 bales, ran out of Savannah in December 1863.^{33, 33} Export duties collected on this cotton totalled \$107.10.³³

The receipts at the customhouse mentioned above total \$1,927.81, or about twenty-two per cent of the receipts during the previous year. It is assumed that Boston and the members of his staff must have had other sources of income.

The sloops *Marie Louise*, *Purcey*, and *Ambition* left Savannah in January 1864. Export duty paid on their cotton cargoes amounted to \$37.80.³³ Other receipts at the customhouse during the month, not itemized, amounted to \$428.96.³³ There were no import duties collected in February.³³ Export duty received on cotton shipped by the schooner *Irene and Jessie* amounted to \$70.70.³³ The sloop *Buffalo* was wrecked and destroyed on 1 February while attempting to run out.

John Boston died early in March, according to *The Savannah Republican*, and was succeeded as Collector of the Port by James R. Sneed. There

³¹ A. Fullerton to Russell. (F.O. 5, Library of Congress. Photostatic copy of despatch dated 10 September 1863.)

³² Letter, John Boston, Collector, to Secretary Memminger, dated 9 October 1863.

³³ *Index 88 of Parties who exported cotton from Charleston, Georgetown, Wilmington, Savannah, Apalachicola, St. Marks, Florida, Mobile, Galveston, Sabine, Texas, Eagle Pass, Texas, New Orleans.* (Record Group 56. General Records of the Department of the Treasury [U.S.] in the National Archives.)

Boston to Secretary Memminger, letter dated 19 November 1863.

³⁴ Annual Report of Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy (U.S.), 1865.

are no extant returns by the Collector covering the first week in that month.¹³ Sneed's return for the remainder of March show that no import duties were collected, and that export duties paid consisted of \$7.70 on 11 bales of cotton shipped by the sloop *Maggie Blum*.¹³

Sneed's accounts for 1-29 April 1864 could not be found;¹³ however, his return for the period 30 April-4 June shows that no import duties were collected, but that the steamer *Ira*, with 54 bales of cotton, and the schooner *Sunrise*, with 35 bales, had left Savannah.¹³ The export duty on this cotton amounted to \$62.30.¹³

Between 4 June and 2 July 1864, import duties collected amounted to \$2.40.¹³ During the same period, the schooner *Mary Agnes*, with 175 bales of cotton, and the sloop *Hope*, with 14 bales, ran out.¹³ Sneed received \$132.30 in export duties on their cargoes.¹³

From 2 July through 12 August, not a penny was collected for either import or export duties.¹³ Then, between 13 and 27 August, \$18.41 was received for import duties.¹³ From the latter date until 3 September there were no receipts.

The consignor of cotton on board the sloop *Rebecca Hertz* paid \$32.90 export duty during the week of 3-9 September. There were no receipts during the following week.¹³

No report could be found covering business done between 16 and 22 September, but the return for the following week showed \$46.90 export duty received on 67 bales of cotton shipped by the schooner *Mary Elizabeth*.^{13, 35}

Forty-four dollars and eighty cents were collected during the week of 7-14 October for export duty on 64 bales of cotton shipped by the schooner *Governor* (or 'Gov.') *Brown*.^{35, 36} There were no receipts whatever during the next week, but between 21 and 28 October, Sneed received \$165.00 in import duties and the additional sum of \$7.70 for cotton exported on the sloop *Mary Jane*.¹³

There were no collections between 29 October and 25 November 1864,¹³ or thereafter, according to extant records. The sorry business was over. Soon Sherman was to come and present the city to Lincoln as a Christmas present.

The story of blockade running operations through the District of

³⁵ Correspondence of George A. Trenholm, Portfolio I, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Verifies sailing of *Mary Elizabeth*, but gives the number of bales of cotton carried by her as 56. Sneed's return for 30 September-7 October acknowledges the payment to him of \$39.20 for export duty on 56 bales shipped on *Mary Elizabeth*. It is obvious, therefore, that when this vessel sailed she had a cargo of 123 bales, consisting of one lot of 67 and another of 56.

³⁶ The correspondence cited under footnote 35 refers to *Gov. Brown* as a sloop. Edward Willis, Chief Quartermaster of General P. G. T. Beauregard's army, states in his papers preserved in the Library of Congress that this vessel was a sloop.

Brunswick, Port of Darien, insofar as they are disclosed by the available records, is soon told. A Statement of Account between Woodford Mabry, Collector, and the Confederate States of America for the period 1 July 1861-31 May 1862 shows ¹³ that the amount of duties collected, including tonnage duty, was \$1,757.21; that the value of merchandise imported in foreign vessels was \$2,096.12 subject to 15 per cent duty and \$1,694.00 on which 25 per cent duty was paid; and that the duties on imports, therefore, were \$737.90. It also shows that the sum of \$839.31 was collected in February 1862 'on R.R. iron,' and that export duties received on 138,000 pounds of cotton at the prescribed rate of one-eighth of a cent per pound amounted to \$172.50.

Mabry's monthly reports to the Confederate Treasury Department¹⁴ make it clear that none of the moneys accounted for in the above Statement of Account actually were received until January 1862. The import and tonnage duties mentioned therein were collected in that month, and the export duty on cotton was paid in March 1862. The Collector's returns for the period commencing 1 April 1862 and ending 31 May 1864 show that not a penny was collected from any source.^{15, 17}

There was considerable trade carried on through the ports in Brunswick District during 1861, most of which was coastwise. The steamer *St. Johns* ran into and out of Brunswick, Darien, and St. Marys, respectively, not less than 25 times. The steamer *St. Marys* is known to have arrived at and cleared from Brunswick and St. Marys, respectively, 18 times, and from Darien eight times. The steamer *Cecile* arrived and cleared at both Brunswick and St. Marys four times during the year. The steamers *Manassas* and *Glyde*, the latter from Nassau, arrived at and cleared from Darien. The prize brigs *Santa Clara* and *J. Welch* were run into that port. Other vessels known to have entered or cleared and departed from the District ports between the date of the imposition of the blockade and the end of the calendar year 1861 were the ships *Emilie* and *Jessie* and *Genovia*, the brig *G. W. Baxter*, the barks *Griffin*, *John Barrow*, and *Lanarkshire*, and the schooners *Pangassett*, *Alice Lee*, *C. A. L. Lamar*, *E. Tenbrook*, *G. B. Cumming*, *Hackburn*, *Cotton Plant*, *Hampton (Parliament)*, *J. W. Jackson*, *Anna*, and *Fanny Lee*.

The steamer *Reliance* cleared and the brigantine *Standard*, of Windsor, Nova Scotia, entered and cleared from the District in 1862.

¹⁷ *Letters to Collectors, July 8, 1863-May 27, 1864*, Secretary's Office, Treasury Department, C.S.A., Record Group No. 56, National Archives, contains a copy of a letter written by Confederate Secretary of the Treasury C. G. Memminger to Armand Lefils, Deputy Collector, Port of Darien, acknowledging the receipt of Lefils' report of 16 November 1863 advising of the wrecking of the English schooner *Havelock* off Darien and that duties had been collected on the portion of her cargo salvaged, i.e., 150 cases of brandy, 48 cases of gin, one case of muslins, and 48 jugs of oil.

The steamer *Chatham* ran out in 1863, and the steamer *Ida* and the sloop *Hope* departed in 1864. In addition, it is known that vessels bound to or from Savannah after the blockade of the Savannah River became tight used the inland waterway; therefore, many if not all of them must have put in and cleared from the ports in the District, but there is no record available to support this assumption.⁸⁸

The Port of Fernandina, Florida, was attacked by Union forces on 3 March 1862 and was occupied by them the following day.

While the Statement of Account between F(elix) Livingston, Collector for the District of Fernandina, and the Confederate States of America for the period 1 October 1861-31 January 1862 shows that the only receipts at the customhouse consisted of \$21.64,¹³ import duty on 1,082 bushels of salt at two cents per bushel, and \$1.85 in light money, the available records show that there had been considerable traffic through the Port, particularly in 1861. In the course of their regularly scheduled runs between Savannah and Palatka, the steamer *St. Johns* had entered and cleared 25 times and the steamer *St. Marys* 18 times during that year. The steamer *Carolina (Kate)* arrived and departed in May, and the steamer *Marion* did likewise in June. The steamer *Wm. Seabrook* ran in and out four times in July and August. The steamer *Dixie* also entered and departed the same number of times during the year. An advertisement published in *The Savannah Republican* of 5 October 1861 by Claghorn and Cunningham, agents, announced that the steamer *Cecile*, Captain F. Peck, master, would leave Savannah for Fernandina on the 2nd, 11th, and 21st of each month. It is not known whether this schedule ever became effective or, if it did, how long it was maintained, but it has been definitely established that *Cecile* actually arrived at and cleared from Fernandina not less than four times during 1861. On 3 February 1862, Messrs. Claghorn and Cunningham announced in the same newspaper that an undesignated steamer would leave Brunswick once a week for Fernandina, Jacksonville, and Palatka, and intermediate landings. Whether this steamer ever ran is not known. It is known, however, that the schooner *Napoleon* arrived from St. Thomas in May and cleared for Port of Spain on 3 June 1861; that the schooner *Parker*, fitted out in Fernandina, cleared for Nassau the next day; that the schooner *Lavinia*, also fitted out

⁸⁸ Pickett Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

Despatches by E. Molyneux and A. Fullerton to Lord Russell. (F.O. 5, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Photostatic copies.)

Weekly and monthly reports by the Collector of Customs, Port of Savannah, to the Confederate Treasury Department.

The Savannah Republican.

Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. 17, p. 291.

there, cleared for Matanzas, Cuba, in August 1861; and that the schooner *Adeline* arrived from Havana during that month. Collector Livingston notified Secretary Memminger on 27 August 1861 that the schooner *Prince of Wales* had arrived from Havana and cleared for Charleston. Other records show that the coastwise trading schooner *Elite* had arrived in August 1861, and cleared in the following October for Savannah, and that the brig *Juana Teresa* had run the blockade of Fernandina and arrived safely at Havana before 26 May 1861.³⁹

The schooner *Magnet*, of Halifax, Nova Scotia, arrived at Fernandina on 25 February 1862 and was captured in the harbor when the United States fleet moved in. So was the steamer *Darlington*. The schooner *Anna Deans* got out in time and reached Nassau on 27 March.⁴⁰

The available records show no further business transacted through the Port of Fernandina. It has been reported, however, that the *Bahama Herald* recorded the arrival of two vessels, *Sarah* and *Alligator* from Fernandina during April 1862, and that in his report for 1866 Governor General of the Bahamas Rawson W. Rawson stated that five vessels from Fernandina had arrived at Nassau in 1862, 'and for every year of the war thereafter one vessel from Fernandina entered the Bahamas.'⁴¹

The reports of Thomas Ledwith, Collector of Customs for the District of St. Johns, Florida, indicate that no duties were paid at the Jacksonville customhouse between 20 and 30 April 1861 on goods, wares, or merchandise exported or imported between these dates.¹³ Ledwith's accounts for the following month show that the sum of \$442.18 had been collected in the form of duties on materials imported in foreign vessels, but it is believed that these vessels arrived at Jacksonville before the blockade was proclaimed.¹³ Fourteen dollars and eleven cents were paid for import duties in June 1861.¹³ No business whatever was done in July.¹³ In August, the only receipts were import duties in the amount of \$67.97.¹³ No import or export duties were collected in September. In October, however, the dutiable value of imports entered for consumption was \$1,476, and the value of the duty-free goods imported was \$1,365.14. Import duties collected amounted to \$260.80.¹³ In November, the customhouse received \$317.64 in import duties. The total value of imports during the month was shown to be \$3,328.62. Ledwith also re-

³⁹ Pickett Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

The Savannah Republican.

Mercantile Weekly Report, Havana, Cuba, 26 May 1861.

⁴⁰ Despatch, E. Molyneux to Lord Russell, 10 April 1862. (F.O. 5, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Photostatic copy.)

The Index, London, England, 15 May 1862, Library of Congress.

⁴¹ Alfred Jackson Hanna and Kathryn Abbey Hanna, *Florida's Golden Sands* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1950), p. 428.

ported that domestic merchandise of the value of \$800 had been exported, but showed no duties paid thereon.¹³ No duties were collected in December 1861.¹³

No abstracts of duties or accounts current showing business done by the customhouse after December 1861 were found; however, other records throw considerable light on the business done through the port between the proclamation of the blockade and the occupation of Jacksonville on or about 12 March 1862.

The steamer *Dixie* entered and cleared Jacksonville twice in 1861. The steamer *St. Johns* entered and cleared in May, and the steamer *St. Marys* made her regularly scheduled stops while en route from Savannah to Palatka and vice versa. The schooner *Sir Robert Peel* arrived at Jacksonville from the West Indies about 25 September 1861 and departed the following month. The schooners *Mary Louisa* and *British Empire* reached Nassau from Jacksonville on 8 and 12 October, respectively. The schooner *Garibaldi* put in at Jacksonville from Nassau on 21 October and departed early in the next month. The schooner *Camila*, from Cowes, England, arrived at Jacksonville about 25 October, and left soon thereafter. *British Empire* and *Garibaldi* ran in and out again in November. The schooner *Sarah and Caroline* cleared Jacksonville about 11 December 1861 and was captured off the mouth of the St. Johns River.^{13, 42} Found on board was a letter from a Jacksonville resident to his mother, dated 27 November 1861, in which the correspondent wrote: 'I send this by a vessel that will leave this place for one of the Bahama isles. By the way, there has quite a little trade sprung up between this place and the same island. We get butter, apples, salt, etc., in exchange for turpentine, rosin, etc. But don't blab, for if Seward should hear of it he would put Lincoln up to send a blockading vessel to stop it.'⁴³

The schooners *Garibaldi* and *Arrow* arrived at Nassau from Jacksonville in January 1862, and the schooners *British Empire*, *Carrie Sanford*, and *Victoria* came in from the same place in March 1862.⁴⁴

With the fall of Jacksonville, which the Confederates abandoned without a fight, and the establishment of an effective blockade of the mouth of the St. Johns River, which appears to have been maintained through-

⁴² *The Index*, London, England, Vol. 1, No. 3, 15 May 1862.

Despatch, A. Fullerton to Lord Russell, dated 11 October 1861. (F.O. 5, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Photostatic copy.)

Sworn statements of accounts by George C. Acosta, Cyrus Bisbee, and Thomas Flotard, respectively, for services rendered as special inspectors on board the schooners *Garibaldi*, *Sir Robert Peel*, *Camila*, and *British Empire*.

⁴³ *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. 12, p. 395.

⁴⁴ *The Index*, London, England, Vol. I, No. 3, 15 May 1862.

out the remainder of the war, blockade running through that port ceased. It also came to an end at Palatka and the St. Johns River landings. These places had been visited with great frequency by the Savannah steamers *St. Johns* and *St. Marys* between 20 April and 31 December 1861. The former is known to have entered Palatka twelve times and cleared that city thirteen times during this period, and *St. Marys* entered on nine occasions and cleared on eight. The steamer *Marion* arrived at Palatka once and cleared twice during the same period, and the steamer *Br. Barnett* cleared for Savannah. As these steamers plied up and down the river, they stopped at the river landings on their schedules.⁴⁵ None of these places had any foreign trade, and it would appear from the monthly and quarterly accounts of George Lucas, Surveyor of Customs at Palatka, rendered to the Confederate Treasury Department, that any goods, wares, or merchandise brought in by coastwise traders was not subject to duty. His submission covering the period July 1861 through September 1863 (excluding December 1861, February 1862, and June, July, and August 1863, for which no returns could be found) showed that no business whatever had been transacted at the Surveyor's office. There is no reason to assume that any business was done during the months for which the accounts are missing or after September 1863.

Lieutenant T. H. Stevens, commander of the U. S. Gunboat *Ottawa*, reported to Flag Officer DuPont on 23 April 1862 that the day after Jacksonville had been occupied by the Union forces he had gone to Palatka, where he met a person who had informed him of the general whereabouts of the yacht *America* and the steamer *St. Marys*. The next day, he had gone from Jacksonville to Dunn's Creek, where he had found *America* sunk in three fathoms. He had then proceeded to Haw Creek, about 140 miles distant from Palatka, where he located *St. Marys*, which also was submerged. *America*, he explained, had been brought to Jacksonville by a Lord 'Dacy' (Decies). He said he had been informed that she had been sold to the Confederate Government 'some four months ago, at which time she ran the blockade.'⁴⁶

Stevens raised *America* 'after a week's hard labor' and brought her to Jacksonville on 28 March 1862.⁴⁶ He did not succeed in raising *St. Marys*. It remained for her Confederate purchaser to accomplish that feat.

St. Augustine was occupied by the United States Navy on 11 March 1862. Commander C. R. P. Rodgers wrote Flag Officer DuPont the fol-

⁴⁵ *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. 12, p. 640.

⁴⁶ *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. 12, p. 638.

lowing day: 'I believe there are many citizens [of St. Augustine] who are earnestly attached to the Union, a large number who are silently opposed to it, and a still larger number who care very little about the matter. I think that nearly all the men acquiesce in the condition of affairs we are now establishing. There is much violent and pestilent feeling among the women. They seem to mistake treason for courage and have a theatrical desire to figure as heroines. . . . On the night before our arrival a party of women assembled in front of the barracks and cut down the flagstaff, in order that it might not be used to support the old flag.'

'The men seemed anxious to conciliate us in every way. . . .'⁴⁷

Paul Arnau, Collector of the Port and District, was arrested, but was released when he delivered to the occupying force the lenses belonging to St. Augustine light and other property he had taken to his home to protect.⁴⁸ He wrote Confederate Secretary of the Treasury Memminger from Green Cove Springs, Florida, on 29 October 1862 that he had left St. Augustine on 8 September; that the Yankees had taken everything belonging to the government; that there were a great many traitors in the city; and that as soon as he could get his papers he would render his accounts. He requested a copy of his commission as collector of the District of St. Augustine, Florida, and advised that his address 'for the present' would be Green Cove Springs.¹³

Having had no reply from Memminger, Arnau wrote him again on 27 November 1862, stating that he had been informed two vessels had got in at New Smyrna, in the District of St. Augustine, but that he had not gone there because he had no authority to show. He had been waiting to hear from Memminger, he stated, to know what to do.¹³

On 12 October 1863, from Green Cove Springs, Arnau wrote Bolling Baker, First Auditor of the Confederate Treasury Department, that he had lost all his papers and that he could not fill in the abstract-of-duties form sent him because he had nothing showing the articles, values, or dates. He added that he could only give from memory the amount collected from the schooner *Garibaldi*, from Nassau to St. Augustine. That amount was two hundred and forty dollars. 'I had no balance on hand due the United States before the State of Florida went out of the Union . . .,' he wrote. 'There has been no transaction during the month of September.'¹³

An unsigned notation on the back of this letter reads: '. . . Ask him to make a statement showing that the amount of duties collected from the

⁴⁷ *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. 12, pp. 595-596.

⁴⁸ J. W. A. Nicholson, Lieutenant Commanding U.S.S. *Isaac Smith*, to Flag Officer DuPont, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. 12, pp. 643-644.

schooner is all that he ever collected. . . .’ Apparently this directive was followed, for Arnau wrote Bolling Baker from Green Cove Springs on 5 January 1864 that the duties collected from the schooner *Garibaldi* ‘are all the duties I have collected since the Secession of the State.’⁴⁹

On 7 April 1864, Arnau reported to Lewis Cruger, Confederate Comptroller of the Treasury that there had been no transactions during January, February, or March 1864.⁵⁰

An attempt was made to capture Arnau in May 1864 and he had to depart from Green Cove Springs in a hurry. On 20 May 1864, he wrote Cruger from a place identified only as ‘Trale Ridge’: ‘I am writing you from the woods, for the Yankees came very near taking me day before yesterday at the Springs. They came in four barges, about eighty men.’ He requested that the Department ‘continue’ to send all communications to him to Lake City, Florida.⁵¹

Arnau moved to Tallahassee, Florida, in June 1864, and appears to have remained there until the end of the war. His reports from that place show that no business was done in his District during the months of July, August, November, and December 1864, or in January 1865.⁵² If reports for the other months were made, they no longer exist. The total volume of business done at St. Augustine for the duration of the blockade appears to have amounted to the estimated sum of \$240 collected from goods, wares, and merchandise imported on the schooner *Garibaldi*.

Shortly after St. Augustine was occupied, the schooner *British Empire*, unaware that the city was in Federal hands, tried to run in through Matanzas inlet and was captured. She was described by her captors as ‘an old lumber vessel, nearly worthless.’⁴⁹

C. R. P. Rodgers, commander of the U.S.S. *Wabash*, wrote Flag Officer DuPont from St. Augustine on 12 March 1862: ‘I am led to believe that Mosquito Inlet, upon which Smyrna is situated, has been much used for the introduction of arms from the Bahamas. . . .’⁵⁰ His suspicions were well founded. The steamer *Carolina* (*Kate*) had run in two cargoes of military supplies from Nassau in the spring of 1862, and the steamer *Cecile* another.⁵¹

⁴⁹ *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. 12, p. 723.

The Savannah Republican, 30 April 1862.

⁵⁰ *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. 12.

⁵¹ Letters dated 28 February and 21 March 1862 from John Fraser and Company, of Charleston, S. C., to Judah P. Benjamin, report that the steamer *Kate* had made two trips to New Smyrna, ‘and appears to have earned \$124,220.40.’ (Record Group No. 56, National Archives.)

The Savannah Republican, 28 March 1862.

T. E. Fitzgerald, *Volusia County, Past and Present* (Daytona Beach, Florida: The Observer Press, 1937), 222 pp.

William F. Russell, Inspector of Customs for the District of St. Augustine, Port of Indian River, Brevard County, Florida, wrote Secretary Memminger on 1 September 1862: 'There have been and are at this time five small boats (sloops) running the blockade between this River and Nassau. They take cotton and spirits of turpentine—return cargo salt, coffee, cloths, . . . A few days since two white men with a small boat and four Nassau negroes with medicines, principally quinine, arrived here from Nassau. . . .'⁵²

It appears that a number of other efforts were made by small sailing craft to run into and out of Mosquito, Jupiter, and Indian River inlets and Biscayne Bay.⁵³ The attached tabular statement names many of these vessels. It does not purport to name all, but it probably is as complete a list as can be made. There appear to have been no customs districts south of St. Augustine District; therefore, no official records of entrances and clearances would have been kept.

Thomas Kirkpatrick, United States Consul at Nassau, reported to Secretary Seward on 24 September 1864: '. . . They are now organizing a Company here for purchasing and equipping a lot of sailing vessels to run the Blockade to and from Florida, along its coasts and up its rivers, and they look upon schooners as being calculated [*sic*] and less suspicious than steamers.' It is not known whether this company ever began operations, but it is clear that small sailing vessels continued to shuttle back and forth until at least 16 March 1865, when the schooner *Mary* was caught in Indian River.

Doubtless, this traffic temporarily relieved shortages of badly needed supplies in the Florida ports visited, but its value for the military purposes of the Confederacy was, as the Florida collectors of customs wrote so frequently in their statements of duties received, 'Nil.'

⁵² Records of the U. S. Coast Guard in the National Archives.

⁵³ William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1913), 769 pp.

T. E. Fitzgerald, op. cit.

Alfred Jackson Hanna and Kathryn Abbey Hanna, op. cit.

SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE OF THE GEORGIA AND EAST FLORIDA PORTS, 1861-1865

[Tonnage given is burthen, unless marked with a * which indicates that the type of tonnage is not known.]

I. 1861—FROM THE DATE OF THE PROCLAMATION OF BLOCKADE TO THE END OF THE CALENDAR YEAR

NAME OF VESSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed	Bound for or from Confederate Port	Known Successful Runs During Year
<i>A. A. Bandel</i>	schooner				from	1
<i>Adeline</i>	schooner				for	8
<i>Admiral</i>	ship				for	
<i>Aigburth</i> [<i>Charlotte Ann</i>]	schooner			captured Cape Canaveral, 17 November		
<i>Alice Lee</i>	schooner			captured 12 miles south of Tybee Island, 12 December		
<i>Albion</i> [<i>Lucy R. Waring</i>]	schooner			captured off St. Johns River, 31 August		1
<i>Adelaide</i> [<i>Parker</i>]	schooner					2
<i>Anna</i>	prize brig					1
<i>Alvarado</i>	ship					2
<i>Bannockburn</i>	steamship	700*		burned off Fernandina, 6 August	for	2
<i>Bermuda</i>	brig					2
<i>Black Fish</i> [<i>Blackfish</i>]	schooner					1
<i>Blooming Youth</i>	steamer					3
<i>Br. Barnett</i>	schooner					4
<i>British Empire</i>	schooner					4
<i>C. A. L. Lamar</i>	schooner					6
<i>Camila</i>	steamer					2
<i>Cecile</i>	steamer	360 19/95				46
<i>Carolina</i> [<i>Kate</i>]	schooner	483				2
<i>Charlotte Ann</i> [<i>Aigburth</i>]	ship			captured 12 miles ESE of Tybee light, 6 December	for	2
<i>Cheshire</i> [<i>Monterey</i>]	schooner					2
<i>Chief</i>	schooner					1
<i>Colonel Long</i>	ship	14	8	captured, cargo removed, scuttled, 4 September	for	2
<i>Consul</i>	schooner					13
<i>Cotton Plant</i>	steamer					17
<i>Dixie</i>	schooner					2
<i>E. Ant</i>	schooner					2
<i>E. J. Waterman</i>	schooner			grounded off Tybee Island, captured 30 November	for	

SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

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<i>Elite</i>	schooner	103*			4
<i>Emery</i>	schooner				2
<i>Emilie and Jessie</i>	ship				2
<i>E. Tenbrook</i> [or <i>Emily Tenbrook</i> , formerly <i>G. B. Lamar</i>]	schooner	58 85/95	8	captured off St. Simon's Island, 6 November	4
<i>Emma Julia</i>	schooner				2
<i>Fanny Lee</i>	schooner				1
<i>Findsburg</i>	bark				2
<i>Fingal</i>	steamer	462*			1
<i>Garibaldi</i>	schooner				3
<i>G. B. Cumming</i>	schooner				3
<i>G. B. Lamar</i> [<i>E. Tenbrook</i>]	schooner				
<i>General Beauregard</i>	steamer				3
<i>Genovia</i>	ship				2
<i>Glyde</i>	steamer				6
<i>Golden Rod</i>	sloop				2
<i>Griffin</i>	bark				2
<i>G. W. Baxter</i>	brig				2
<i>Hackburn</i>	schooner				2
<i>Hannah Balch</i>	brigantine				2
<i>Hallie Jackson</i>	brig				2
<i>Hammond</i>	schooner			captured off Savannah, 10 June	1
<i>Hampton</i> [Parliament]	schooner				4
<i>Helen</i>	bark				1
<i>H. F. Willing</i>	schooner				2
<i>John Barrow</i>	bark				2
<i>John A. Moore</i>	steamer				1
<i>John Randolph</i>	steamer				1
<i>John R. Wilder</i>	schooner				2
<i>Juana Teresa</i>	brig				1
<i>John W. Anderson</i> [Mabel]	schooner			captured lat. 31° 10' N. long. 80° 52' 30" W., 15 November	1
<i>J. W. Jackson</i>	schooner			captured off Fernandina, 28 October	2
<i>J. Welsh</i>	prize brig				2
<i>Kate</i> [Carolina]	steamer				2
<i>Lanarkshire</i>	bark				2
<i>Laura</i>	bark				2
<i>Lavinia</i>	schooner				2

SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

NAME OF VESSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed	Bound for or from Confederate Port	Known Successful Runs During Year
<i>Leonora</i>	schooner					2
<i>Levant Thompson</i>	schooner					2
<i>Lida</i>	schooner or sloop			captured off St. Simons Island, 1 December	for	1
<i>Lucy R. Waring [Albion]</i>	schooner					2
<i>M. A. Baker</i>	sloop					6
<i>Mabel [John W. Anderson]</i>	schooner					9
<i>Manassas</i>	steamer					2
<i>Marion</i>	steamer					1
<i>Mary</i>	sloop					2
<i>Mary Louisa</i>	schooner					17
<i>Monterey [Cheshire]</i>	ship					2
<i>Napoleon</i>	schooner					2
<i>Pangassett</i>	schooner					2
<i>Parker [Adelaide]</i>	schooner					2
<i>Parliament [Hampton]</i>	schooner					2
<i>Pomona</i>	ship	60				2
<i>Prince of Wales</i>	schooner					2
<i>Quebec</i>	ship					2
<i>Rob Parker</i>	ship					2
<i>Rosa</i>	sloop	183*				1
<i>St. Johns</i>	steamer					486
<i>St. Marys</i>	steamer	400*				307
<i>Santa Clara</i>	prize brig					3
<i>Sarah</i>	schooner					1
<i>Sarah and Catherine [Sarah and Caroline]</i>	schooner			captured near mouth of St. Johns River, 11 December	from	1
<i>Sarah and Caroline [Sarah and Catherine]</i>	schooner					10
<i>Science</i>	sloop					1
<i>Sebasticook</i>	ship					8
<i>Sir Robert Peel</i>	schooner					1
<i>Specie</i>	schooner			captured lat. 31° N., long. 80° W., 12 October	from	6
<i>Splendid</i>	sloop					1
<i>Syren</i>	brig					2
<i>Time</i>	schooner					2
<i>Theodora</i>	steamer	578	28			4

<i>Victoria</i>	schooner			2
<i>Virginia</i>	sloop			6
<i>W. D. Jenkins</i>	schooner	83*		8
<i>Wisterbottom</i>	bark			2
<i>Wm. Seabrook</i>	steamer			11
<i>Wm. Totten</i>	schooner			10
<i>Unnamed</i>	schooner			

driven into the breakers off mouth of St. Johns River,
11 December for

Summary for 1861:
Vessels engaged in the business: steamers 16, others 78, total 94
Number of runs attempted: steamers 905, others 218, total 1123
Successful runs: steamers 203, others 1108
Unsuccessful runs: steamers 0, others 15, total 15
Percentage of successful runs: steamers 100%, others 93.1%, all types 98.6%

II. DURING CALENDAR YEAR 1862

NAME OF VESSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed	Bowed for or from Confederate Port	Known Successful Runs During Year
<i>Agnes</i>	schooner			captured St. Andrews Sound, 25 September		
<i>Agnes</i>	schooner			captured Indian River, 24 November	for	
<i>Alert</i>	schooner			captured off St. Johns River, 27 February	from	
<i>Alicia</i>	schooner			captured in Indian River, 10 December		1
<i>Alligator</i>	schooner			sunk by Confederates in St. Johns River, raised by U. S. Navy in March		3
<i>America</i>	yacht			captured 6 miles inside Jupiter Inlet, 30 December		1
<i>Ann</i>	sloop	339/100				2
<i>Anna Deans</i>	schooner			captured St. Johns River, 25 February	for	1
<i>Arrow</i>	schooner			captured off Hole-in-the-Wall, 27 April	for	
<i>Bermuda</i>	steamer	700*		captured Matanzas Inlet, — February	for	
<i>British Empire</i>	schooner			captured off Indian River, 1 December		4
<i>By George</i>	schooner					2
<i>Carolina [Kate]</i>	steamer					
<i>Carrie Sanford</i>	schooner					

NAME OF VESSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed	Bound for or from Confederate Port	Known Successful Runs During Year
<i>Cecile</i>	steamer					2
<i>Chance</i>	schooner			captured in Wassaw Sound, 28 June	for	
<i>Darlington</i>	steamer			captured at Fernandina, 3 March	from	
<i>Defiance</i>	schooner			captured in Sapelo Sound, 7 September	for	
<i>Ellen</i>	sloop			captured in Indian River, 24 November		
<i>Fanny</i>	schooner			captured off St. Simons Island, 22 August	for	
<i>Garibaldi</i>	schooner					3
<i>Kate [Carolína]</i>	steamer			captured Ossabaw Sound, 4 August	for	
<i>Lodona</i>	steamer			captured at Fernandina, 3 March		1
<i>Magnet</i>	schooner			captured off Fernandina, 5 February	for	
<i>Mars</i>	schooner				for	1
<i>Nashville</i>	steamer	1229		captured Ossabaw Sound, 23 September	for	
<i>Nellie</i>	schooner			captured east of Abaco, 3 days out from Doboy Sound,		
<i>Reliance</i>	steamer			21 July	from	2
<i>Sarah</i>	schooner					1
<i>Standard</i>	brigantine					4
<i>Trier</i>	schooner			captured 6 miles east of Indian River Inlet, 28 October	for	
<i>Victoria</i>	schooner			captured off Hole-in-the-Wall, 12 July	from	3

Summary for 1862:

Vessels engaged in the business:

Number of runs attempted:

Successful runs:

Unsuccessful runs:

Percentage of successful runs:

steamers	7.	others	24.	total	31
steamers	13.	others	41.	total	54
steamers	9.	others	23.	total	32
steamers	4.	others	18.	total	22
steamers	.692%	others	.5609%	all types	.592%

III. DURING CALENDAR YEAR 1863

SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

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NAME OF VESSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed	Bound for or from Confederate Port	Known Successful Runs During Year
<i>Ann</i>	schooner			captured 10 miles north of Indian River, 8 August	for	1
<i>Anna</i>	sloop					1
<i>Anna Thompson</i>	sloop			destroyed off Cumberland Beach, 8 December	for	
<i>Antoinette</i>	schooner			captured inside Jupiter Inlet, 5 January	for	
<i>Avenger</i>	sloop			captured off Mosquito Inlet, 23 March	for	1
<i>Aurelia</i>	sloop			captured Sapelo Sound, 23 February	for	
<i>Belle</i>	schooner					1
<i>Bertha</i>	schooner					2
<i>Charleston</i>	steamer			captured Indian River, 23 February	from	
<i>Charm</i>	schooner			captured Mosquito Inlet, 26 July	from	
<i>Charmer</i>	schooner			captured in Doboy Sound, 16 December	from	3
<i>Chatham</i>	steamer					1
<i>Caroline</i>	sloop			captured 10 miles north of Indian River, 8 August	for	
<i>Clara Louise</i>	sloop			captured Mosquito Inlet, 26 July	from	
<i>Clotilda</i>	sloop					1
<i>Coronet</i>	sloop			captured off St. Simons, 23 September	for	
<i>Diamond</i>	steamer					1
<i>Eagle</i>	sloop			destroyed Jupiter Inlet, 28 June	for	
<i>Elizabeth</i>	sloop			captured in Indian River, 24 November		
<i>Ellen</i>	sloop			captured in Mosquito Inlet, 19 June		
<i>Emma</i>	schooner			captured lat. 27° long. 77°, 16 March	from	1
<i>Five Brothers</i>	schooner	35		captured St. Andrews Bay, 2 May	for	
<i>Emma Amelia</i>	schooner			captured Wassaw Sound, 29 May	from	
<i>Evening Star</i>	schooner					2
<i>General Beauregard [Havelock]</i>	steamer	824	27	captured in Tybee Creek, 23 February	from	
<i>Glide</i>	schooner			captured off Cape Florida, 6 January	from	
<i>Good Luck</i>	sloop		2			
<i>Havelock [General Beauregard]</i>	steamer			wrecked on Doboy Bar, — November	for	
<i>Havelock</i>	schooner			captured at sea, — September	for	1
<i>Herald</i>	steamer			destroyed Indian River Inlet, 18 April	for	
<i>Inez</i>	schooner	4*	3			1
<i>James Grubbs</i>	sloop					1
<i>Jane Godfrey</i>	sloop					
<i>Julia</i>	sloop			captured 10 miles north of Jupiter Inlet, 8 January	for	

SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

NAME OF VESSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed	Bound for or from Confederate Port	Known Successful Runs During Year
<i>Justina</i>	sloop	4*		captured lat. 28° 12' N. long. 78° 34' W., 23 April	from	2
<i>Kate</i>	sloop			captured in Indian River, 23 June	for	1
<i>Maggie Fulton</i>	schooner	26*		captured in Indian River Inlet, 8 April	for	
<i>Marie Louise</i>	sloop	8*	2			1
<i>Mary</i>	sloop					1
<i>Ocean Bird</i>	schooner			captured off St. Augustine Inlet, 23 October	for	
<i>Oconee</i>	steamer			foundered at sea, 19 August	from	
<i>Petie [Petee]</i>	sloop	6*	3	captured Indian River, leaky, destroyed, 10 March	for	1
<i>Ring Dove</i>	schooner	23*	5	grounded on bar off Indian River Inlet, 17 December	for	
<i>St. Johns</i>	steamer					1
<i>Swift</i>	schooner					3
<i>Uncle Sam</i>	schooner					1
<i>Volante</i>	schooner			captured off Cape Canaveral, 5 November	for	

Summary for 1863:

Vessels engaged in the business:

Number of runs attempted:

Successful runs:

Unsuccessful runs:

Percentage of successful runs:

IV. DURING CALENDAR YEAR 1864

NAME OF VESSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed	Bound for or from Confederate Port	Known Successful Runs During Year
<i>Ambition</i>	sloop					
<i>Alliance</i>	steamer			captured off Savannah, 12 April	for	1
<i>Annie Thompson</i>	sloop			captured St. Catherine's Sound, 16 January		
<i>Arletta [Martha]</i>	schooner			destroyed off Tybee Island, 3 March	for	
<i>Benetor</i>	sloop					
<i>Buffalo</i>	sloop			wrecked and destroyed, Ossabaw Island, 1 February	from	1
<i>Caroline</i>	sloop		3	captured Jupiter Inlet, 10 June	for	

SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

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<i>Defy</i>	schooner				captured off Doboy Light, 3 February	from	1
<i>Eliza</i>	schooner	5 37/100	3		captured off Jupiter Inlet, 19 January	for	1
<i>Fly</i>	schooner				captured Jupiter Inlet, 11 January		1
<i>Fortunate</i>	sloop	4			captured 35 miles from Indian River. Cargo taken, vessel cast adrift, 30 May	from	2
					captured off Jupiter Inlet, 4 February	from	3
<i>G. Garibaldi</i>	sloop						1
<i>Governor Brown</i>	schooner				captured off Mosquito Inlet, 11 March	from	1
<i>Hannah</i>	sloop				captured near St. Johns River, 14 March	from	1
<i>Hattie</i>	stamer				captured Jupiter Inlet, 4 February	from	2
<i>Hope</i>	sloop				captured Sapelo Sound, 10 July	from	3
<i>Hope</i>	sloop				captured Sapelo Sound, 8 July	from	1
<i>Ida</i>	stamer						
<i>Irene and Jessie</i>	schooner				captured Sapelo Sound, 27 June	for	
<i>Julia</i>	sloop		3		captured Jupiter Inlet, 30 June	from	
<i>Last Resort</i>	sloop				captured 2 miles off Indian River, 1 March	for	
<i>Lauretta</i>	schooner	8 38/100			captured off Mosquito Inlet, 11 March	for	
<i>Linda</i>	schooner				captured inside Jupiter Inlet, 4 February	from	
<i>Lydia</i>	boat						
<i>Maggie Blum</i>	sloop				captured Jupiter Inlet, 10 January	from	1
<i>Maria Louise</i>	sloop						1
<i>Marie Louise</i>	sloop						
<i>Martha [Arletta]</i>	schooner						
<i>Mary</i>	sloop	10 88/100	5		captured 1 mile inside Jupiter Inlet, 19 January	from	1
<i>Mary Agnes</i>	schooner						1
<i>Mary Elizabeth</i>	schooner						1
<i>Mary Jane</i>	sloop						1
<i>Minnie</i>	sloop						
<i>Nina</i>	schooner				captured south of Mosquito Inlet, 15 January	for	
<i>Oramoneta</i>	sloop				captured Indian River, 27 February	for	
<i>Peep o'Day</i>	schooner				captured inside the bar at Matanzas Inlet, 18 April	for	
<i>Persis</i>	boat				captured near Indian River, —	from	
<i>Purseys [may be Persis]</i>	sloop				captured Wassaw Sound, 12 March	from	1
<i>Racer</i>	sloop				captured about 10 miles north of Cape Canaveral, 31 January	from	1
<i>Rebel</i>	schooner				captured Indian River, 29 February		
<i>Rebecca Hertz*</i>	sloop	30 (approx.)			captured at Savannah, 29 December		1
<i>resolute</i>	sloop				captured off Cape Canaveral, 12 May		

- Came in from Nassau not knowing Savannah had been occupied by Federal forces.

NAME OF VESSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed	Bound for or from Confederate Port	Known Successful Runs During Year
<i>Sarah Mary</i>	sloop			captured Mosquito Inlet, 26 June	from	
<i>Silvanus</i>	schooner			chased ashore and lost Doboy Sound, 2 January	for	
<i>Sophia</i>	schooner			captured Altamaha Sound, 3 March. Abandoned by captors	for	
<i>Spunky</i>	schooner			captured off Cape Canaveral, 7 April	from	1
<i>St. Marys</i>	steamer	400*		destroyed St. Johns River, 9 February	for	
<i>Susan</i>	schooner	6 (approx.)	4	captured off Jupiter Inlet, 11 January	for	
<i>Swift</i>	schooner			captured Wassaw Sound, 9 February	for	
<i>Sunrise</i>	schooner					1
<i>Terrapin</i>	schooner		3	captured off Indian River, 10 July	from	1
<i>Two Brothers</i>	sloop		3	captured off Indian River, 25 February	for	
<i>Young Racer</i>	sloop			run ashore and destroyed by own crew 15 miles north of Jupiter Inlet, 14 January		

Summary for 1864:

Vessels engaged in the business:

Number of runs attempted:

Successful runs:

Unsuccessful runs:

Percentage of successful runs:

steamers 4, others 48, total 52
 steamers 7, others 56, total 63
 steamers 3, others 19, total 22
 steamers 4, others 37, total 41
 steamers 428%, others 339%, all types 349%

SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

131

V. DURING CALENDAR YEAR 1865

Bound
for from
Confederate
Port
Known
Successful
Runs
During
Year
from

NAME OF VESSEL Type Tons Crew Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed

Amazon
Mary

steamer
schooner
3 captured in Savannah River, 2 March
captured in Indian River, 16 March

Summary for 1865:

Vessels engaged in the business:

Number of runs attempted:

Successful runs:

Unsuccessful runs:

Percentage of successful runs:

steamers 1, others 1, total 2
steamers 1, others 1, total 2
steamers 0, others 0, total 0
steamers 1, others 1, total 2
steamers .000%, others .000%, all types .000%

Overall Summary, 1861-1865:

Number of runs attempted:

Successful runs:

Unsuccessful runs:

Percentage of successful runs:

steamers 939, others 363, total 1302
steamers 926, others 265, total 1191
steamers 13, others 98, total 111
steamers .986%, others .730%, all types .915%

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 - (b) *Index 88 of Parties who exported cotton from Charleston, Georgetown, Wilmington, Savannah, Apalachicola, St. Marks, Florida, Mobile, Galveston, Sabine, Texas, Eagle Pass, Texas, New Orleans.*
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Boston's Little-Known Packet Lines

BY DANA M. HASTINGS

FROM the early part of the nineteenth century, the sailing packets played an important part in the development of American foreign commerce and trade, not in the absolute amount of goods and passengers that they carried, but in bringing to the forefront a new idea: that of establishing regularly scheduled lines between the United States and Europe, especially England. The date for the beginning of this type of service is often given as 1816, although there is much information which contradicts this. This date was erroneously set for the establishment of the famous Black Ball Line out of New York for Liverpool. However, neither this date nor this line concerns us here, as this paper is an account of Boston's little-known packets to Liverpool.

The idea of sending packets to Liverpool from Boston was actually thought of long before most people imagine. The Boston and Liverpool Packet Company of 1822 represents the first attempt in this direction. However, in 1805 there was formed the Boston Importing Company by a group of Boston merchants and shipowners. This was actually the first true packet company established here because their announcements and advertisements read as follows for the ship *Sally*, the first ship run by the line:

... intended for a regular trader between this port [Boston] and Liverpool, 323 tons, coppered to the bends, and having elegant accommodations for passengers.¹

Although passengers were welcomed, the line was formed principally for the benefit of the shareholders who took precedence over others in booking space in *Sally*, *Packet*, and *Romeo*.²

Early in 1805 when the General Court came in session, this firm, through the efforts of John Gore and others, attempted to secure an Act of Incorporation; at that period each firm requiring a special act of the

¹ F. B. C. Bradlee, *The Dreadnought of Newburyport* (Salem: The Essex Institute, 1920), p. 12.

² H. A. Hill, *Trade and Commerce of Boston* (Boston, 1895), p. 102.

legislature to become a corporation. When the petition was referred to a committee for study, this group reported in favor of the bill, but for reasons not given, the General Court refused to pass it.³ Although this was a blow, the group of men involved continued through with their plans and, in May of 1805, the firm of Ammidon and Boyle, the association's agents, announced the sailing of *Sally*.⁴ The company fared fairly well according to all reports for a year or so, and put the ships *Packet* and *Romeo* into service the following year. Captain Seth Webber was master of *Sally* on her initial trip, succeeded by Captain Winslow Lewis, a passenger on her return voyage; *Packet* was skippered by a Captain Scott, and *Romeo* by John Le Bosquet, all of whom were well-known Boston captains.⁵

During this period American ships were experiencing much difficulty on the high seas from the ships of other countries, and this line was no exception. Although there is no specific mention of any trouble during the early years of the association, *Sally* was seized at San Sebastian in 1810, and *Packet* at Hamburg in the following year.⁶ As a result of these incidents, plus, undoubtedly, other similar troubles, a meeting was called at the Exchange Coffee House in Boston on 8 July 1811, and the firm's business was soon concluded, the ships being sold shortly thereafter.⁷

Thus, the total elapsed life of this first packet company was six years. It was not economically very significant, but it was a step in the right direction. Only three ships were scheduled to sail between Boston, Liverpool, and London, and occasionally the Continent, and it is not known whether the association actually owned *Sally* and *Romeo*. *Packet* was advertised for sale in 1811, so one can assume that the firm did own one ship.

There were several other ships plying between Boston and England on a regular basis at this time, but none of these could be considered a packet line, most of the ships being owned by merchants or importers who maintained them primarily for their own use.

Early in 1821, the first serious attempt at establishing a packet line was begun. Action on the matter was initiated by a number of merchants and shipowners—Edward Tuckerman, Samuel May, Amos Lawrence, Lewis Tappan, William Appleton, and James Read—who signed their

³ Ibid.

⁴ Bradlee, op. cit., p. 12.

⁵ Hill, op. cit.

⁶ Ibid., p. 119.

⁷ Hill, op. cit., pp. 119-120.

names to a petition applying for an Act of Incorporation for the Boston and Liverpool Packet Company to organize and maintain regular sailings between the two ports.⁸ There were a number of others interested in the scheme, notably 'S. Austin, Jr. and J. W. Lewis,'⁹ along with about fifty other Bostonians.¹⁰

This enterprise was supposed to reassure the people of Boston that their commerce was not being permanently lost to New York City, to attempt to reclaim business already lost to New York, and to hold existing trade in the hands of Bostonians. That these fears were existent is evidenced in the words of one of the proponents of the scheme:

It has been said too that while almost every other part of the Union was rapidly increasing in population, enterprise, and wealth, this ancient Commonwealth was deteriorating. Especially have these *croakers* been alarmed at the career of our neighbouring State, New York.¹¹

There were several additional advantages to establishing this packet service, they argued. They said that such a line would attract to Boston much coasting trade which normally put into New York, and would attract more trade from the South, especially more of the cotton trade, although it is difficult to see why these coasters from the South would sail to Boston when New York was slightly closer, even though the founders said that their packets would be able to offer lower shipping rates than those of other shippers.¹² Also, it was argued that much money could be saved in postage rates since 'the aggregate amount of postage on letters, forwarded to England, via New York, and on those arriving here, by the same way, is not inconsiderable.'¹³

There was one consideration of these men which did not work out in practice and which could have been foreseen by them if they had examined the export to import situation more carefully. They gave much time to describing the goods which would be brought to Boston, but only a brief description of their exports via the packets to Europe. They proposed to ship fruit, cotton, flaxseed, naval stores, breadstuffs, tobacco, ashes, lumber, and miscellaneous manufactured goods to Europe.¹⁴ How-

⁸ Petition for incorporation of the Boston and Liverpool Packet Company, February 1822, Archives, State House, Boston, Mass.

⁹ Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

¹⁰ C. C. Cutler, *Greyhounds of the Sea* (New York: Putnam's, 1930), p. 68.

¹¹ *Remarks on the Project of Establishing a Line of Packets Between Boston and Liverpool*, an anonymous, undated pamphlet, p. 5.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

ever, an examination of the relative export-import figures will show that there was a considerable excess of imports over exports, creating an unfavorable balance of trade with England.¹⁵ Also, the period from 1819 to 1830, although it could not have been known at the time, was a period of general decline in trade as a whole.¹⁶ This deficiency in exports ultimately led to the downfall of this and the succeeding firm.

On 18 February 1822, the 'Act to incorporate the Boston and Liverpool Packet Company' was returned from a special committee of the General Court with the recommendation that 'The committee to whom the Bill was committed reports that it ought not to pass,' and this report was signed by Messrs. Parrott of Gloucester, Phillips of Boston, and Hedge of Plymouth. There was no further reason given, and the bill did not pass. However, the project was not given up and, on 15 October 1822, Austin and Lewis announced the 'immediate departure' of the 'Boston and Liverpool Packet Company's ship *Emerald* for Liverpool by way of Charleston. . . .'¹⁷

According to most reports, there were four ships sailing regularly on the Jewel Line, as it was called—*Amethyst*, *Emerald*, *Sapphire*, and *Topaz*. However, there seems to be some controversy about these vessels. They were supposed to have been built in the year 1822 by Thatcher Magoun of Medford,¹⁸ but there is record of only two of these ships having even been built in Medford—*Topaz* in 1822, and *Sapphire* in 1823 for a different concern.¹⁹ The others are not mentioned. However, at least three of these ships, with the exception of *Sapphire*, did sail for the line, and were all about three hundred tons (old measurement). *Sapphire*, of roughly the same size, seems not to have been used on this line, although most references indicate that it was used.²⁰ A search of the Arrivals and Clearances in the newspapers of the period fails to find any references to this vessel in the packet trade, although there was a ship of that name plying between Boston and other ports.

There is further evidence in the newspapers to the ship *Herald*, which seems to have been operated by the line. Mr. Hill also mentions this ship

¹⁵ R. G. Albion, *Square Riggers on Schedule* (Princeton, 1938), p. 390.

¹⁶ E. R. Johnson, ed., *History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the U.S.* (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution, 1915), p. 37.

¹⁷ Hill, op. cit., p. 121.

¹⁸ A. H. Clark, *The Clipper Ship Era* (New York: Putnam's, 1911), p. 51.

¹⁹ H. Gleason, *Old Ships and Shipbuilding Days of Medford* (W. Medford, privately printed, 1936), p. 57.

²⁰ P. P. F. Degrand's *Weekly Report*, and *The Boston Advertiser*. R. G. Albion, *Square-Riggers on Schedule* (Princeton, 1938), p. 44. A. H. Clark, *The Clipper Ship Era* (New York, 1911), p. 51. C. C. Cutler, op. cit., p. 68.

and gives the name of Hector Coffin as master.²¹ *Herald* is not mentioned in any other account of the Jewel Line other than Mr. Hill's, and, from the newspaper references to the vessel, it seems to me that it should be included.

The Jewel Line was organized on a slightly different basis from the usual direct packet routes, being set up originally to run most of the sailings via Charleston, with occasional ships going direct to England.²² This was not good for the passenger trade to England, but gave the ships sufficient cargo to make the trips modestly profitable.

Again, according to the newspapers, the sailings of this line were infrequent until the year 1824, when there were seven sailings from March through November. By 1825 there were eight sailings by *Amethyst*, *Emerald*, and *Topaz*. *Sapphire* was not mentioned in the Liverpool trade and *Herald* made rather irregular sailings. Newspapers were not complete for the next year so that I can only surmise that the Jewel Line was still active, for Mr. Lubbock states that it did not fail until early in 1827.²³ If this is true, it was not until 1826 that the firm experienced great difficulty in securing cargoes for the outward trips.

This line had a novel arrangement for obtaining cargoes and passengers. In the United States, there was one agent in Boston; and in England, one agent for each ship. According to reports, the arrangement was not satisfactory.²⁴

The captains of the Jewel Line were well-known men, capable in their profession. They were Captain Fox of *Emerald* (who recorded a passage of sixteen days from Liverpool, arriving in Boston on 8 March 1824),²⁵ later succeeded by Captain Howes, Captain Bussey of *Amethyst*, and Captain Callender of *Topaz*.²⁶

Because of financial difficulties caused finally by insufficient cargoes, the firm went out of business in the year 1826 or 1827, although many reports indicate that its last year was nearer 1825. As previously stated, newspaper records show this latter year to be inaccurate. Thus, Boston's second attempt, the first extensive one, however, to establish a packet connection between Boston and Liverpool was a failure, having been in existence officially as an association since 1822 and having lasted for about five mediocre years.

²¹ Hill, op. cit., p. 121.

²² Clark, op. cit., p. 51; and Hill, op. cit., p. 121.

²³ A. B. Lubbock, *The Western Ocean Packets* (Boston, 1925), p. 27.

²⁴ Clark, op. cit., p. 51.

²⁵ P. P. F. Degrand's *Weekly Report*, 13 March 1824.

²⁶ From shipping lists in Degrand's *Weekly Report* for period of firm.

Statistics on this company are as follows:²⁷ authorized capital stock—\$100,000 in 1,000 shares (which sold at \$30 per share on 24 August 1822, and had climbed to \$40 by October of that year, when the first sailing was announced);²⁸ four ships were to be built and fitted out for a total of \$85,000, or \$21,250 for each ship.

Although the company failed, Boston people evidently felt a need for continuance of this type of service between Boston and Liverpool, for early in the summer of 1827, Nathaniel P. Russell, Joshua Blake, Amos Lawrence, William Lawrence, Henry Hall, George Bond, William Appleton, David Henshaw, and James T. Austin,²⁹ of whom William Appleton and Amos Lawrence had been connected with the defunct association, tried to establish another Boston and Liverpool Packet Company. These men sent a petition to the General Court, as the forerunner had done, and on 8 June it was reported on favorably by the committee to which it was submitted. This, however, did not seem to be sufficient for, following its second reading on that date, the bill was tabled and no further record of it is obtainable.³⁰ Despite this setback, the group went ahead under articles of association as had done the first Boston and Liverpool Company. The articles were established 25 July 1827, with the following serving as the Board of Trustees: George Bond, President; Joshua Blake, William Lawrence, William Appleton, and Henry Hall with Ebenezer Appleton, Treasurer, and George G. Jones of 41 India Wharf as Agent for the firm.³¹ Authorized capital of the new line was to be \$150,000 although the bill for incorporation made provision for capital stock of \$200,000,³² and this capital was to be divided into shares worth \$500 each.

The first public announcement of the new line, also called the Boston and Liverpool Packet Company, was made in the *Boston Advertiser* on Monday, 24 September 1827, when it was announced that the first ship would sail on the first of November for Liverpool and would return on the 20th of that month. This ship was *Amethyst*, one of the ships of the original Boston-Liverpool packet line, the Jewel Line. According to Mr. Hill, it sailed 'with a full freight and forty-two passengers. . . .'³³ *New England* sailed on the first of December, and four ships, *Amethyst*, *New*

²⁷ *Remarks on Boston-Liverpool Packet Co.*, pp. 2-3.

²⁸ Degrand, 21 December 1822.

²⁹ Articles of Association of Boston and Liverpool Packet Company, 25 July 1827, p. 4; and Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

³⁰ Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

³¹ Articles of Association, p. 17.

³² Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

³³ *Ibid.*

England, Boston, and Liverpool were scheduled between these two ports in the spring of 1828.³⁴ Mr. Lubbock, in his description of the firm,³⁵ states that *Dover* was the first ship to sail for the line, but from the newspaper accounts, this does not seem likely.

In spite of these differences, the new line catered to the passenger trade, the ships being very well appointed and designed for the comfort of the cabin passengers, having such things as a library, comfortable cabins, bathrooms, and other conveniences and luxuries.

In addition to *Amethyst*, Howes, master, and *New England* under Captain Hunt, other ships were quickly added. In the spring of 1828, Thatcher Magoun of Medford completed *Boston* of 428 tons (later struck and burned by lightning on 26 May 1830, while only a few hours out of Charleston), and the ship *Liverpool* of 429 tons which sailed for the line until the failure of the company when it was sold for a New Bedford whaler, and was finally condemned in 1853.³⁶

A second *Boston*, *Trenton*, also 429 tons, and *Lowell* completed by Magoun in 1832, *Plymouth* in 1833, and *Chatham* in 1834 (this latter ship built by Silas Lapham of Medford), were later added.³⁷ *Chatham* also discredits the reports that the firm only lasted until 1833,³⁸ and several other accounts which establish the date of failure even earlier.³⁹

Unlike the first Boston and Liverpool Packet Company, this line was not set up to run between Boston, Charleston, and Liverpool. However, it seems that the second Boston-Liverpool company had the same troubles as did its predecessor, that of securing cargoes from the United States to England. In 1830, as mentioned previously, *Boston* was burned outside of Charleston, so it seems that shipping out of this port was well under way by that date. Hill states that these ships did not go to Charleston for their cargoes until 1834,⁴⁰ but the above statement seems to disprove this, as does an examination of shipping clearances from Boston. Like its predecessor, this line had as its principal exports from Boston rubber shoes, cow horns, corn husks, and sassafras.⁴¹ The ships had to go south to complete their cargo manifests.

The firm seems to have prospered fairly well at least up until the year 1833, because its shares made a steady advance in price to that year. In

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Lubbock, op. cit., p. 29.

³⁶ Gleason, op. cit., p. 58.

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 60-61.

³⁸ Bradlee, op. cit., p. 14.

³⁹ Cutler, op. cit., p. 68.

⁴⁰ Hill, op. cit., p. 126.

⁴¹ Lubbock, op. cit., p. 29.

1829, the price of these \$500 par value shares ranged from \$245 to \$270, in 1831, \$310, and in 1833, they were \$400. Although not reaching par value during this period, the steady advance seems to indicate that there was some degree of confidence in the future of the firm. There is no record of the price of this stock for the next year.⁴²

Many of the ships of this line made good names for themselves long after the packet line was dissolved in 1834. *Amethyst* was used for many years on the west coast and *Liverpool*, *Lowell*, and *Plymouth* sailed as whalers out of New Bedford, New London, and Sag Harbor, respectively.⁴³ *Chatham* was used the following year, 1835, as a packet between Liverpool and New Orleans, but sank at sea on 2 September of that year.⁴⁴

In addition to Captains Howe and Hunt, already mentioned in this paper, there were several others who made their reputations in the packet trade, notably Captain Ira Bursley and Captain Ezra Nye, who made a twenty-day passage from Liverpool to Boston in *Amethyst* in 1829.⁴⁵

Following the demise of the second Boston and Liverpool Packet Company in the year 1834, it appears to me, no packet line of sailing vessels to England operated out of Boston for a number of years. There were, of course, the coastal packets which continued to ply between the coastal ports, and an attempt or two to establish steam packets, which did operate extensively in the coastal trade. The Cunard line of steamers from England was also established and used Boston as its American port at that time.

The next line of sailing, transatlantic packets was not begun until 1843 when Enoch Train, formerly in the leather and South American trades, became interested in the business. At this time, he diverted several of his ships from other waters into the Boston-Liverpool shuttle, while his first real packet ship was being built for him in Newburyport by a man soon to become prominent in shipping circles—Donald McKay. This ship, *Joshua Bates* of 620 tons,⁴⁶ was launched in 1844. Meanwhile, Train was using *Dorchester*, 500 tons, *Cairo*, 600 tons, and *Governor Davis*, 800 tons, on the packet line, which was inaugurated on 8 June 1843.⁴⁷

In 1844 when *Joshua Bates* was launched, his packet business really began. This ship was followed by *Washington Irving* in 1845, *Anglo-Saxon* in 1846, and in succeeding years by *Ocean Monarch*, *Anglo-American*, *Par-*

⁴² Hill, op. cit., p. 126.

⁴³ Gleason, op. cit., pp. 58-60.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 61.

⁴⁵ H. C. Kittredge, *Shipmasters of Cape Cod* (Boston, 1935), p. 124.

⁴⁶ R. C. McKay, *Some Famous Ships and Their Builder, Donald McKay* (New York, 1931), p. 20.

⁴⁷ J. Winsor, *The Memorial History of Boston* (Boston, 1881), p. 227.

liament, *Daniel Webster*, *Staffordshire*, *Star of Empire*, and *Chariot of Fame*.⁴⁸ Needless to say, it was Train who established McKay as a master builder and the one who brought him to Boston to carry on his work. Many of these ships were the so-called clipper-packets, the forerunners of McKay's later famous extreme clippers.

I will not say a great deal more about Train's White Diamond Line for the reason that there are a number of accounts of his firm. It was well known and respected in his day, whereas the other packet companies were quite insignificant. Train did not suffer from the competition of the Cunard steamers because they devoted most of their carrying space to freight, whereas Train's ships were designed for the immigrant trade which the Cunard liners deliberately avoided.

His business was great enough to enable him to survive several tragedies which cost many lives. *Ocean Monarch* burned off Liverpool in 1848, *Staffordshire* was wrecked off Nova Scotia in 1853, and *Cathedral* was lost on a charter trip off Cape Horn in 1857.

There were about twenty-three packet ships used by Train in this trade at one time or another,⁴⁹ along with many well-known captains—Caldwell, Murdock, Thayer, Richardson, Brown, Howard, and Knowles.⁵⁰

This most famous and successful of the Boston packet lines did a flourishing business to the year 1857, when a financial panic that year caused the firm of Train & Company to fail. It was succeeded by Thayer and Warren, who later changed over to steamships.

Thus, in 1857, Boston lost her last transatlantic packet line of sailing vessels. They represented to Bostonians two different ideas—that of filling a growing need for rapid communication between the United States and England, and an attempt to help Boston meet the competition of its growing neighbor, New York. The lines, especially the two Boston and Liverpool Packet Companies were at a disadvantage because Boston could not furnish cargoes for the trip to England, with the result that the ships sailed a triangle between the two mentioned ports and either Charleston or Savannah. This was a distinct hindrance to the passenger trade, which these lines did not serve well.

⁴⁸ McKay, op. cit.; I will not list page numbers here since all the above-named ships are dealt with in separate chapters.

⁴⁹ From an old poster of Train and Company.

⁵⁰ Winsor, op. cit., note on p. 227.

Dana M. Hastings, of Framingham, is a graduate of Harvard College and is presently specializing in finance at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. His interests in maritime history were inspired by many years of sailing and racing on Buzzards Bay.

Balsa and Dugout Navigation in Ecuador

BY EMILIO ESTRADA

THE *Kon Tiki* voyage across the Pacific proved beyond argument the capabilities of aboriginal sailing rafts of balsa logs. Heyerdahl (1952) in his monumental work,¹ has studiously covered the literature dealing with ancient navigation in the Pacific, including the coast of Ecuador. The present paper classifies the types of sailing rafts and dugouts used in Ecuador, reprints early descriptions, and discusses the methods of navigating an experimental balsa built by Heyerdahl and myself in 1953.

Ecuador was the center of balsa-raft construction and trade because the balsa tree grows in quantity along the banks of the Guayas River. The island of Puna was one of the main centers of sailing balsas and the Punaes were able to defeat an Inca fleet in the only recorded naval battle with this type of craft. The waters of Ecuador, especially near the island of La Plata, are rough and treacherous. This was where the first sailing balsa was sighted in 1526 by the Spaniards, who were duly impressed by its construction and sailing qualities.

Sailing balsas may be divided into three principal types:

1. The large freight raft, known only through the description of Dampier quoted below. It could sail only with the wind and apparently was steered with an oar. The hull contained twenty to thirty logs. Above this were one or more decks supported on a cribwork of logs. This specialized type was constructed for voyages to Panama where the raft was broken up and sold.

Dampier, who was on the coasts of Ecuador and Peru in 1684, has left the following account:

Others are made to carry Goods: the bottom of these is made of 20 or 30 great Trees of about 20, 30, or 40 foot long, fasten'd like the other, side to side, and so shaped; on the top of these they place another shorter row of Trees across them, pinn'd fast to each other, and then pinn'd to the undermost row: this double row

¹ T. Heyerdahl, *American Indians in the Pacific* (Stockholm, 1952).

of Planks makes the bottom of the Float, and of a considerable breadth. From this bottom the Raft is raised to about 10 foot higher, with rows of Posts sometimes set upright, and supporting a floor or two: but those I observ'd were rais'd by thick Trees laid a-cross each other, as in Wood Piles; only not close together, as in the bottom of the Float, but at the ends and sides only, so as to leave the middle all hollow like a Chamber; except that here and there a beam goes across it, to keep the Float more compact. In this hollow, at about 4 foot heighth from the beams at the bottom, they lay small poles along, and close together, to make a floor for another Room, on the top of which also they lay another such floor made of poles; and the entrances into both these Rooms is only by creeping between the great traverse Trees which make the Walls of this Sea-House. The lowest of these stories serves as a Cellar: there they lay great stones for Ballast, and their Jars of fresh Water closed up, and whatever may bear being wet; for by the weight of the Ballast and Cargo, the bottom of this Room, and of the whole Vessel, is sunk so deep, as to lie 2 or 3 feet within the surface of the Water. The second story is for the Seamen, and their necessaries. Above this second story the Goods are stowed, to what heighth they please, usually about 8 or 10 feet, and kept together by poles set upright quite round: only there is a little space abaft for the Steers-man, (for they have a large Rudder) and afore for the Fire-hearth, to dress their Victuals, especially when they make long Voyages, as from Lima to Truxillo, or Guayaquil, or Panama; which last Voyage is 5 or 600 leagues. In the midst of all, among the Goods, rises a Mast, to which is fastn'd a large Sail, as in our West-Country Barges in the Thames. They always go before the Wind, being unable to Ply against it; and therefore are fit only for these Seas, where the Wind is always in a manner the same, not varying above a point or two all the way from Lima, till such time as they come into the Bay of Panama: and even there they meet with no great Sea; but sometimes Northerly winds: and then they lower their Sails, and drive before it, waiting a change. All their care then is only to keep off from shore; for they are so made that they cannot sink at Sea. These Rafts carry 60 or 70 Tuns of Goods and upwards; their Cargo is chiefly Wine, Oil, Flower, Sugar, Quito-Cloth, Soap, Goat-Skins drest, &c. The Float is manag'd usually by 3 or 4 Men, who being unable to return with it against the Trade-wind, when they come to Panama dispose of the Goods and Bottom together; getting a passage back again for themselves in Some Ship or Boat bound to the Port they came from; and there they make a new Bark-log for their next Cargo.²

2. The medium freighter, usually called *jangada*, is the type represented by *Kon Tiki*. It had a hull of seven, nine or eleven logs and was steered by manipulation of centerboards, which may number from three to as many as eighteen (Figure 1).³ Various historical descriptions and illustrations have been brought together by Heyerdahl⁴ and Lothrop.⁵ We add the little-known account of Andrés Baleato published in 1820.

² W. Dampier, *Dampier's Voyages ... edited by John Masefield* (London, 1906), I, 165-166.

³ After F. E. Paris, *Essai sur la construction navale des peuples Extra-Européens* (Paris, 1841-43).

⁴ Op. cit., pp. 513-553.

⁵ S. K. Lothrop, 'Aboriginal Navigation off the West Coast of South America,' *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, LXII (1932).

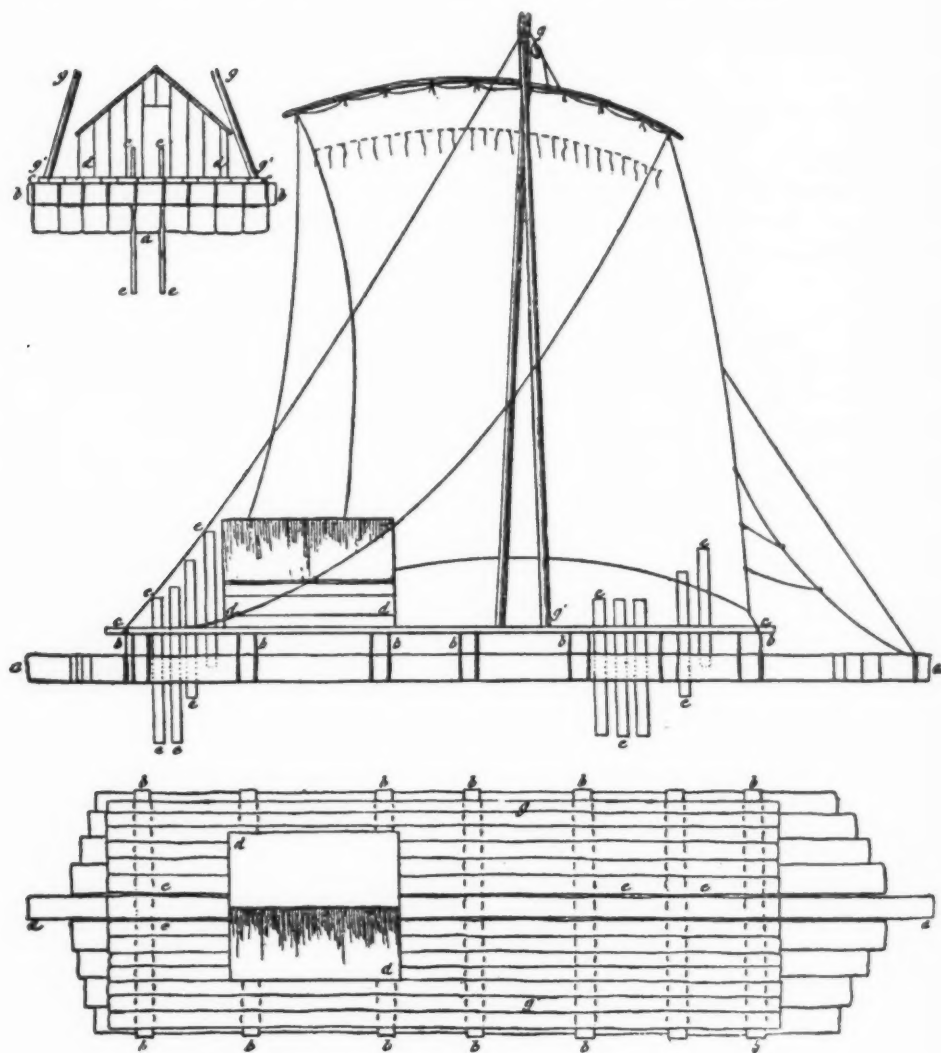


Figure 1

The size of the rafts that navigate in the river, is relative to their destiny; some are made with comfort to carry families to their farms or country homes; several are occupied for fishing; others to load and unload vessels, and to carry general cargo and fruits from Bodegas to Guayaquil, and from there to Puna, Tumbes, etc. The regular load of the large balsas is 400 to 500 quintals, but there are others that sail to Paita, and that are common in Sechura, where they engage frequently in commerce with Guayaquil, and sometimes even from Pacasmayo. These (the ocean going balsas) are smaller than the others; are rigged with a mast, and boom, perpendicular over the flat of the balsa, and tied with two stays astern and one to

the bow . . . others have a small mast in the bow, which sail is about half the main. The cargo for these ocean going balsas is of 200 quintals or less. . . .

The most important characteristic of this craft, is that it sails and tacks against contrary winds, the same as the craft with keels. They sail safely in the direction one wants, veering from it very slightly, which is done with a different apparatus than the rudder. These are planks of 3 to 4 yards long, and one-half a yard in width, called 'Guaras,' which are placed vertically in the stern and bow, lowered through the trunks which form the balsa. Through these by lowering them in the water, or raising them some, the balsa sails to windward, tacks, jibes, or runs, according to what is best.⁶

The jangada continued in use off the coasts of Ecuador and Peru until about 1920, so there are many people still alive who have made and sailed them. The last fleet was based at the port of Sechura in northern Peru and, in this last period, the rafts themselves came to be called *sechuras*.

Due to Thor Heyerdahl's interest, we built a small scale model of the balsa as described by Juan and Ulloa,⁷ pictured in many books and drawings, and just like the *sechuras*. Two balsa builders from Playas, Ecuador, where the small sailing balsas (*balsillas*) are still in use, made it for us. We tried it in 1953, and the results were exactly as expected.

The basic principle of steering is that raising the stern centerboard swings the stern away from the wind while raising the bow centerboard swings the bow away from the wind. We believe this method of steering to be more efficient than the conventional rudder since there is no drag in any position—to windward, reaching, or running. Naval architects will understand that shifting the center of lateral resistance forward or aft of the fixed center of effort of the sail will turn the vessel. It is impossible in present-day naval architecture always to maintain a perfect balance where no rudder is required and drag is eliminated.

The actual mechanics of steering a three-centerboard balsa, such as appears in Figure 2, are as follows:

Reaching. Boards 1 and 2 are down all the way. Board 3 is about two-thirds down. Steer by raising and lowering it.

To windward. Raise board 3 as necessary.

Tacking. Get as much speed as possible and raise board 3. Once dead into the wind, raise board 1 and the momentum should swing the bow on the other tack. Trim the sail. Lower board 1 and start steering with board 3. If the wind is poor, it is necessary to jibe.

Running. Leave boards 2 and 3 down and pull board 1 up.

⁶ Andrés Balcato, *Monografía de Guayaquil* (1820).

⁷ George Juan and Antonio Ulloa, *A Voyage to South America* (London, 1760), 2 vols.

Jibing. Lower board 1 and raise board 3 about two-thirds of the way. Swing the vessel by trimming the sail.

3. A third and very small type of sailing raft, called *balsilla* in Ecuador, is not used for cargo but for fishing. Evidently the construction has changed in the course of time. Dampier's description is as follows:

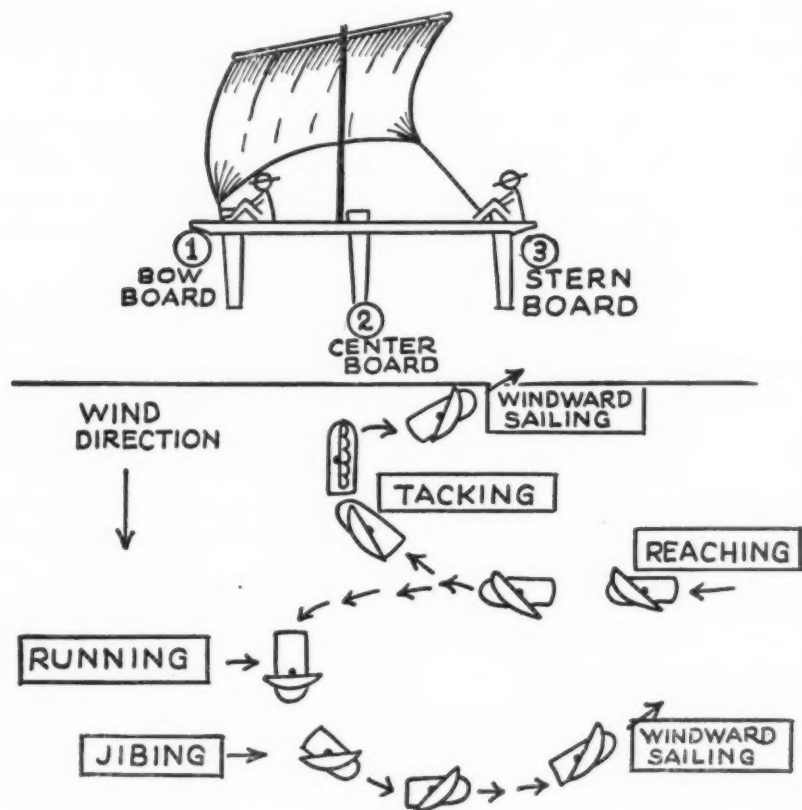


Figure 2

The Indians of Colan are all Fishermen; they go out to Sea and fish in Bark-logs.⁸ Bark-logs are made of many round Logs of Wood, in manner of a Raft, and very different according to the use that they are designed for, or the humour of the People that make them, or the matter that they are made of. If they are made for fishing, then they are only 3 or 4 Logs of light Wood, of 7 or 8 foot long, plac'd by the side of each other, pinn'd fast together with wooden pins, and bound hard with Withes. The Logs are so placed, that the middlemost are longer than those

⁸ Original footnote 1 in Dampier reads: 'Bark-logs of small size are still in use on the west coast of South America. Some excellent drawings of them will be found in Captain Burney's "History of the Discoveries in the South Sea."'

by the sides, especially at the head or fore part, which grows narrower gradually into an angle or point, the better to cut through the Water.⁹

In comment on this passage, all other accounts of balsas in Ecuador and Peru speak of their being lashed together rather than pegged. Dampier's contemporary, Lionel Wafer, described Panamanian rafts,¹⁰ consisting of parallel logs, cross beams and deck like those of Peru, which were both lashed and pegged together.

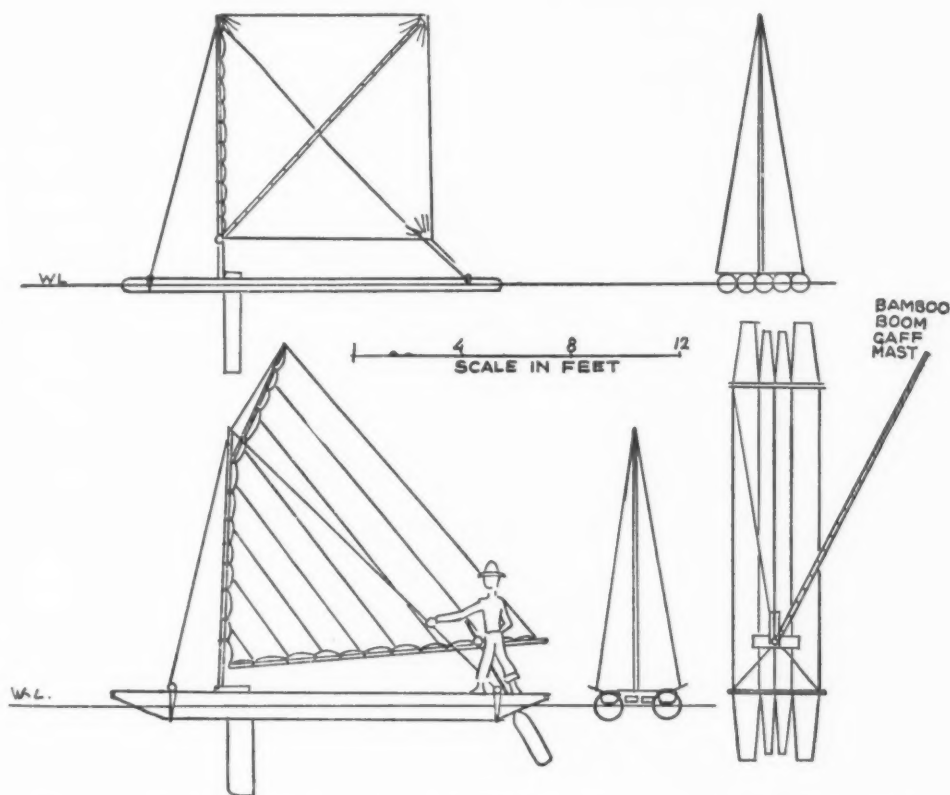


Figure 3. *Top*, nineteenth-century balsilla from Playas, Ecuador. *Bottom*, modern balsilla from Playas

The *balsilla* is the only type of sailing raft in regular use today. There is a fleet of about sixty at Playas, Ecuador, and there are others across the Guayas estuary at Cabo Blanco in Peru. Until the present century, the

⁹ Dampier, op. cit., I, 165.

¹⁰ L. Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*. Edited by L. E. Elliott Joyce (Oxford: The Hakluyt Society, 1934), p. 59.

balsilla of Playas was made of five logs of approximately equal diameter and was rigged with a spritsail (Figure 3, *top*), still seen on the *payanera* canoes of the Gulf of Guayaquil (Figure 4, *bottom*). About fifty years ago, a new type of hull came into being with two large logs on the outside and two or three smaller ones as a deck in the center (Figure 3, *bottom*). At the same time, the sail was changed to a boom and gaff rig. The spritsail

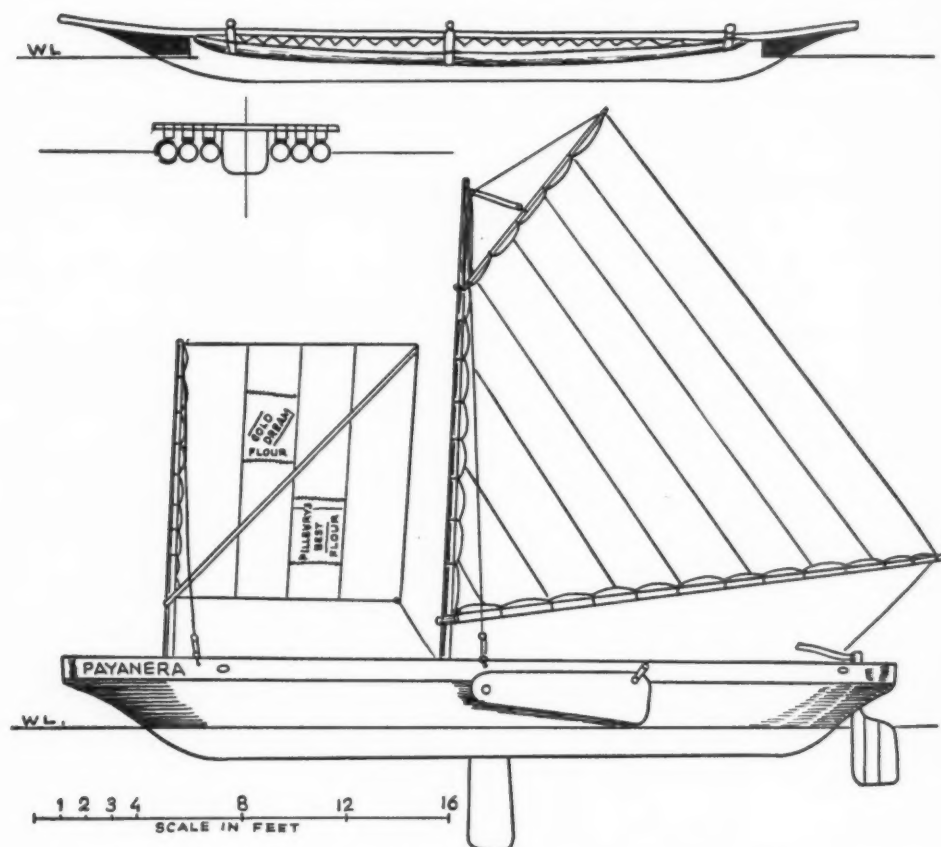


Figure 4. *Top*, imbabura dugout canoe of the Cayapa Indians, with outriggers.
Bottom, payanera dugout, Gulf of Guayaquil

is transitional between the present rig and the ancient square sail. The fishing balsa usually has a single centerboard and is steered with a paddle.

In addition to the sailing rafts of Ecuador, two types of dugout canoes were used for coastal voyages. The best known is the *imbabura* of the Cayapa-Colorado Indians. They consist of a dug-out wooden hull with one to three balsa logs lashed beneath projecting thwarts on either side

(Figure 4, *top*). The center of the log is bent downward by inserting a block of wood. This incipient form of outrigger gives great buoyance and stability to the hull.

The *imbabura* type of canoe has been in existence for perhaps a thousand years. Jijón y Caamaño excavated a pottery model at La Tolita, Ecuador. Baleato (1820) describes canoes from Payta,¹¹ Peru, up to forty feet in length and four in beam, with a single balsa log on each side. Between this log and the hull four leeboards were lowered on each side. They were schooner-rigged with two masts and a jib. Steering was done with a rudder. These vessels used to make voyages from Payta to Guayaquil and ports of the Choco with cargoes of up to fifty jugs of firewater weighing about twenty-five pounds apiece.

Finally, there are the *Payanera* dugout canoes still seen in the Gulf of Guayaquil (Figure 4, *bottom*). They have two masts with a sprit foresail and a boom and gaff mainsail. On either side they have pivoted leeboards of European type.

¹¹ Baleato, op. cit.

Emilio Estrada is an Ecuadorian who is probably the only yachtsman who has handled the strange craft he writes about and has made practical experiments with them.



Notes

KILLICKS

In the years before inexpensive anchors and steel mooring balls came into common usage, the combination stone and wood anchor known as the 'killick' served its purpose well. The origin of the killick, as is the origin of the word, seems very obscure; and though now applied only to homemade stone and wood implements, once was used to describe anchors in general.

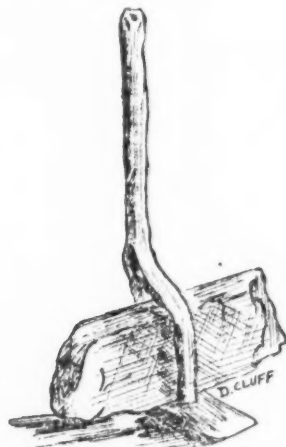


Figure 1

With a heavy, oblong rock, a hardwood board, and a limb with a fork suitable enough to reach snugly around the rock and through the board (each end to be securely wedged and sawed off), a fisherman could manufacture very cheaply an adequate mooring for himself. Intended for use on soft bottom, it can be easily imagined, if you will refer to Figure 1, that once these killicks were covered with silt and sand, they made an excellent mooring for a small to medium-sized fishing craft. Smaller killicks

of this type were used in dories. They were so effective that a special method of securing the anchor line in order to trip the killick was employed. This method, similar to 'becueing,'¹ is as follows. The anchor line was secured to the base of the killick with the line running up the shaft and lashed, not too securely, at the top. If the killick then became fouled or embedded in the bottom, the anchor line could then be worked around and jerked strongly, breaking the lighter lashing at the top of the



Figure 2

shaft. The killick was then freed by hauling it up bottom first. This will be found well described in Willard L. Sperry's reminiscence of life on Maine's south coast during the latter 1800's.²

At the Peabody Museum of Salem, Massachusetts, there will be found killicks of a different type (Figure 2), yet

¹ A. Ansted, *Dictionary of Sea Terms* (Glasgow: Brown, Son and Ferguson, Ltd., 1951).

² Willard L. Sperry, *Summer Yesterdays in Maine* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941).

very similar in principle. The same materials are used, but the rock or granite is fixed upright rather than across the wooden crosspiece, and rope lashings are used to secure the wooden uprights together at the top and also to tie them together at intervals for further support.

Figure 3 illustrates a third kind of killick made entirely of iron. This pair, in use prior to 1910, were undoubtedly made sometime during the late 1800's. They are 36 inches in height and 28 inches across the arms, being very similar in size to the killick shown in Figure 1.³



Figure 3

It is very interesting to note that Christopher Levett, in 1623, mentioned a killick:

... at length we resolved that to put to sea againe in the night was no fit course, the storme being great, and the winde blowing right of the shore, and to runne our boate on the shore amongst the breaches, (which roared in a most fearefull manner) and cast her away and indanger ourselves we were loath to do, seeing no land nor knowing where we were. At length I caused our Killick (which was all the Anker we had) to be cast forth, and one continually to hold his hand upon the roode or cable, by which we knew whether our ancker held or no: which be-

³ Killicks are illustrated and their construction described in Wesley G. Pierce, *Goin' Fishin'* (Salem: Marine Research Society, 1934), p. 142.

ing done wee commended ourselves to God by prayer, & put on a resolution to be as comfortable as we could, and so fell to our victuals. Thus we spent that night, and the next morning, with much adoe we got into Sawco, where I found my other boate.⁴

I have quoted this to bring out the fact that the gale was such as to give them much concern, causing them to anchor for the night off a storm-swept lee shore. Levett's afterthought, that the killick was the only anchor he had, indicates, I believe, that the word killick pertained, at that time, to a particular type of anchor, such as might be used in small craft.

Christopher Levett was exploring in two 'boates' working up the Maine coast from the Piscataqua, having been empowered to claim and settle several thousand acres of land once he had found what he considered suitable. He decided upon and settled on one of the islands in Casco Bay.

It is pleasant to make the conjecture that the killick that served Levett so well that stormy night might well have been the ancestor (rather an inanimate one, though) of the killicks that were made in such profusion during the succeeding years on the Maine coast.

Characteristic of the homemade implements of that bygone era, the homeliness of the killick was outweighed by its usefulness.

DOHN A. CLUFF

REMARKS ON SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SHIP DESIGN

IN the course of his extremely valuable article on 'Early Seventeenth-Century Ship Design,'¹ Mr. Baker dismisses certain plans reproduced in Charnock's *History of Naval Architecture* as having been redrawn on the methods of design

⁴ Christopher Levett, *Sailors Narratives of Voyages Along the New England Coast, 1524-1624*, with notes by George Parker Winship (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1905), p. 264.

¹ THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE, XIV (1954), 262-277.

current in 1800. Actually he refers to 'plans purporting to show vessels of the sixteenth-century,' but I feel sure this must be a slip. Charnock gives no *plans* of sixteenth-century ships, but does give a series from the 1680's; I am assuming that it is these to which Mr. Baker refers.

Now these plans of Charnock's consist of two of unknown origin and several taken from a set of contemporary drawings by William Keltridge showing vessels of the Fourth Rate and below. One copy of this work is in the Scott Library at the Institution of Naval Architects and another in the National Maritime Museum. I have compared this second copy with Charnock and find that the engraver reproduced the original very exactly, giving all the lines shown in the drawings and adding nothing to them. The word 'lines' is used here in the ordinary non-technical sense. It is, I think, quite safe to say that he simply copied to the best of his ability without any attempt to redraw in accordance with the practice of his own day. Whatever methods of design can be deduced from the engravings must have been in use in 1684 at least.

The originals of Charnock's first two plans may be discovered some day; if so, there can be very little doubt that he will be found to have identified them wrongly. The 'Second Rate of 1665' cannot possibly be *Royal Katherine*, as is suggested in the List of Plates, and 'Captain of 1678' is far more likely to be a 60-gun ship than a 70. The first is very like existing models and draughts of the 80-gun ships of the 1690's and may perhaps be *Royal Oak*, which was called a 74, but carried the same guns as the two-decked 80's; there would be some justification for Charnock's dating her 1665, since the first ship of the name was built in 1664, as was *Royal Katherine*. As for the second plan, it looks later than 1678 and the dimensions are very close to those of *Exeter* 60 of 1697.

The chief difference between Mr.

Baker's *Mayflower* and mine lies in the relation of the depth to the other two dimensions; his ship is one foot narrower than mine and one and one-half feet deeper. In all probability he is the nearer to the truth, though the proportions I chose were at least possible. Above the main deck our two designs seem to be very similar except for the fact that I put a break in the half deck as well as in the two decks below.

R. C. ANDERSON

HOW TO TACK A SCHOONER SINGLE-HANDED

TACKING a one-hundred-ton schooner sailing under four lowers close-hauled in moderate weather is a one-man job. I learned during the period of 1916-1920 when I sailed in Campeche red snapper smacks on the Gulf of Mexico.

During the day, when most of the hands were on deck, there would be plenty of help when we came about. At night it was a different picture: all hands would be caulking off save the man at the wheel. In fine weather he would serve in the triple rôle as helmsman, lookout and watch officer.

Often in beating to windward the skipper would leave orders to tack at designated times, say once every two hours. It was up to the man on watch to turn the trick without calling for help.

It is rather easy, if you step lively and don't make any mistakes. Here is the procedure:

Put the wheel down hard. Run forward on the 'loo'ard' side and cast off the jibsheet. Grab the tailrope—a length of line made fast to the after end of the jumbo (forestaysail) boom—and take a couple quick turns around a belaying pin in the 'loo'ard' rail. This backwinds the jumbo.

Now jump across the deck to the original windward side and as her head passes through the wind haul in smartly on the other jib sheet. Belay the sheet

while the jib is still shaking because if you wait until it fills you won't have the strength to flatten it down hard.

Now jump back across the deck and cast the tailrope off, allowing the jumbo boom to swing across the deck. Now run aft, grab the wheel and straighten her out on her new course.

Incidentally, as you run aft, be careful not to trip over the break off the poop or the dory gripes; if you take a tumble your schooner probably will be about ready to jibe back on her original tack before you get her in hand again.

During this busy minute you have not had to touch the main, fore or jumbo sheets: these three sails have taken care of themselves, save for your business with the tailrope.

Schooners I recall tacking many times single-handed thirty-five years or so ago, their respective gross tonnage, and registered length, include: *Ariola*, 50 tons, 73 feet; *Clara G. Silva*, 81 tons, 85 feet; *Ida S. Brooks*, 72 tons, 80 feet; *Yakima*, 108 tons, 96 feet; *Cuba*, 44 tons, 73 feet. There were a number of others I recall, but I do not have their length and tonnage figures at hand.

FRED HUNT

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ENGLAND

AN article in *THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE* for January 1950 gave some account of new material on American voyages to Australia in the 1792-1812 period. This data was found during a month spent in New England and included: (1) Log of *Ann and Hope*, 1798; (2) Log of *Hannah and Eliza*, 1805; (3) Log of *Topaz*, 1807-8; (4) Papers of the ship *Favourite*, 1805-8; (5) Papers of the ship *Jenny*, 1807-8.

A visit to New England in September and October 1954 added the following items to this list: (1) Log of *Diana* of Staten Island, 1799-1800; (2) Log of *Fanny* of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 1802-3; (3) Log of *Eliza* of Salem, 1805-6; (4) Log of *Hope* of New York, 1806-7; (5) Papers of *Eliza* of Providence, Rhode Island, 1807-8.

The log of *Diana* is in the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts. On a voyage to China, *Diana* searched for the elusive Trial Rocks off the coast of western Australia, on which the English ship *Tryall* was wrecked in 1622, and sighted the northwest coast of Australia.

Fanny was owned by Harris and Smith of Portsmouth, and commanded by Eliphalet Smith. His Journal, now in the Essex Institute, records that on 30 May 1802 a pilot 'took us to anchor in the noble harbour of Port Jackson [Sydney, N. S. W.]. Thank God, after a passage of 178 days.' *Fanny* sailed from Sydney on 18 November 1802 in company with the French exploring ships *Geographe* and *Naturaliste*. On 30 November Captain Smith was off the Kent Group, Bass Straits, and noted: 'I find by observation that these islands are laid down too far north by Flinders.' *Fanny* kept company with the French ships as far as King Island. Captain Smith claimed that *Fanny* was the first American vessel to sail through Bass Straits. When he parted company with the French ships their commander, Nicholas Baudin, gave him a letter to the Governor of the Isle of France (Mauritius), bespeaking his good offices if Flinders should visit Mauritius. However, when Flinders did reach Mauritius he was held prisoner for six years.

Eliza's Log, now in the Peabody Museum, Salem, begins abruptly when the vessel was in 28-51 N.; the earlier pages of the logbook have been torn out.

Eliza reached Port Louis, Mauritius, on Sunday, 13 October 1805. From Mauritius Captain William Richardson of *Eliza* carried to Sydney a letter from the French firm of Merle and Co. to Simeon Lord, merchant and shipowner. This aroused the darkest suspicions in the mind of Governor King of New South Wales, as France and Britain were at war. The Log says nothing of the letter.

From Sydney *Eliza* sailed to Norfolk Island and then round the north of New Guinea to Palembang in Sumatra.

Thence she went to Canton and so back to Salem.

One human touch about the voyage occurred when the dog fell overboard on 30 July 1805 and a boat was at once put out. The dog was saved.

Hope of New York, owned by Fanning Brothers, sailed on Friday, 29 August 1806, a date that shows a complete disregard for an old superstition. On the voyage to Sydney scurvy attacked the crew. When *Hope* reached Sydney on 17 March 1807, Captain Reuben Bromley obtained leave to land the sick men on Garden Island in Port Jackson and arranged for Dr. O'Connor (who cannot be traced amongst the surgeons in Sydney) to visit them once a day. At the doctor's request the sick were given spruce beer as well as fresh vegetables and made a good recovery.

Hope sailed for Fiji Islands on 2 April 1807. Two stowaways, one lacking his left hand, were later found on board. This was Thomas Watson, brother of Robert Watson, the pilot. At the Fijis *Hope* kept company with the ship *King George* of Sydney, commanded by James Aickin, the pioneer of the Fijian sandalwood trade. *Hope* took a cargo of sandalwood to Canton. On 25 April 1808 she was stopped and plundered in the South Atlantic by a Spanish pirate, *Catalina*, out of Havana. Off the Capes of Virginia she spoke a vessel that advised her of the Jefferson embargo just imposed on foreign trade.

The *Eliza* of Providence papers in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island, seen by courtesy of Professor James B. Hedges who is using them for his work on the history of the firm of Brown and Ives, clear up several questions left in doubt by the *Jenny* papers, notably that of the fate of Captain Ebenezer H. Corry after his arrest by the Spaniards at Guam.

THOMAS DUNBABIN

CAPTAIN THOMAS PETERSEN, MARINE ARTIST

The following information about a little-known marine artist was communicated to me by Lieutenant Thomas Petersen, USN, the artist's son, in 1920.

Captain Thomas Petersen was born on 28 February 1881 in Grimstad, Norway, and first went to sea at the age of fourteen on sailing ships in the lumber trade between Norway and Africa. At the age of seventeen he was put in charge of a group of African laborers for the lumber concern.

He remained in Africa for three years, then returned to sail and arrived in America in 1900 where he was employed in yachting until the outbreak of World War I when he became an officer on the steamship *San Juan*.

At the end of the war he again went back to yachting and painting in his spare time. In 1922 he retired from the sea, being in poor health, and devoted his time entirely to painting.

After an illness of nine months he died on 28 November 1926 and was buried in the town of Noank, Connecticut.

It is known that he painted the following pictures:

'In the Wake of the Gale,' reproduced in *Outing*, April 1914; 'Wharf at New London,' at Mariners Savings Bank, New London, Connecticut; 'Whaling bark *Connecticut*,' at Marine Museum, Mystic, Connecticut; 'Harpooning a Whale,' at Marine Museum, Mystic, Connecticut; 'Ship *Culver* of London,' painted in 1915; 'Bark *Sophie Grimstad* ex *County of Caithness*,' painted in 1914; 'Stowing Topsails,' painted in 1915, reproduced in *Yachting*, April, 1927; 'Schooner on a Lee Shore,' painted in 1916; 'Ship before the Wind,' painted in 1920.

L. W. JENKINS

Documents

WRECK OF *Kitty*

FROM *The Bristol [England] Gazette*, 21 January 1819:

Extract of a Letter to a Mercantile House in this City, dated Fishguard, 14 January, 1819:—

'On Monday the 11th inst. a fine American, the *Kitty*, of Norfolk, about 300 tons burthen, was drove on shore at Abercatté,¹ near Fishguard,

¹ Abercatté is no doubt Abereddy Bay, 11 miles (by road) west of Fishguard.

her cargo (consisting of tobacco) is strewed for miles, and the vessel a most complete wreck, the crew having deserted her and taken all papers out of her, it is not known where she was bound, the pieces of the vessel are collecting under the superintendence of three persons, one of whom lays claim as Agent for the Droits of the Admiralty, the other as Agent for Lloyds, and the third as Agent for the Manorial Rights; in this state the matter rests until something is settled; at all events they serve to keep each other honest, and combine to prevent pilfering, the cargo lies in large heaps, and has the appearance of seaweed, being sodden with salt-water, it is completely useless. Suppose it was in hogsheds, but not one is to be seen. The water within 200 yards is quite discoloured, and a great number of fish floating in, poisoned with tobacco juice.'

Contributed by *Grahame E. Farr*

NATHANIEL HILTON'S INDENTURE

The following document, apprenticing a boy to study navigation is in the Peabody Museum of Salem.

THIS Indenture Witnesseth that Nathaniel Hilton, son of Nathaniel Rogers; and Elizabeth his wife of Beverly in the County of Essex and province of ye Massachusetts Bay in New England, hath of his own free & Voluntary will or by & with the consent of his aforesaid Father and Mother placed & Bound himself apprentice unto Nathaniel Lee & Elizabeth his wife of Manchester in the County and province aforesaid; with them as an apprentice to dwell and Continue & Serve from ye Day of ye Date hereof unto ye full End and Term of Five years Seven months & Eight Days next ensuing; & fully to be Compleat & Ended. During all which Term ye said Apprentice his said master and mistress well and faithfully shall serve; their Secrets keep; their lawfull Commands gladly do; Hurt to his said master & Mistress he shall not Do;

nor willfully Suffer to be done by Others, without giving immediate Notice thereof to his said master and mistress. The goods of his said master and mistress he shall not embezzle; waste nor lend to any without their Consent; at Cards, Dice or any other unlawful games He shall not play; Taverns or ale houses he shall not Frequent; Fornication He shall not committ; matrimony he shall not contract; from the service of his said master and mistress He shall not at any Time depart, or absent himself without his said masters & mistresses Leave; But in all Things as a good and faithful apprentice shall and will demean and Behave himself towards his sd master and mistress during ye said Term. AND the said master & mistress their said apprentice shall and will Teach & instruct the art of Navigation; and also instruct him their sd. apprentice to read, write & cypher or cause to be well & Sufficiently Taught and Instructed after the Best way & manner that he can; and shall and will also find and allow unto their said Apprentice, Meat; Drink; washing; Lodging and apparel both Linnen and woollen; & also all Other Necessaries fit and Convenient for such an Apprentice during the Term aforesaid. And at the End of ye said Term shall & will give to their said apprentice Two new suits of apparel one fit for Holy-Days and ye Other for Common Days.

In Testimony whereof the Parties to These Presents have Interchangeably set their hands and Seals ye first Day of December in the Thirty third year of ye Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second of Great Britain France & Ireland Annoque Dommini One Thousand Seven hundred & Fifty nine.

Sign'd Seal'd & Dd'd

Nathaniel Hilton

in Presence of

John Knowlton

Nathaniel Lee

Edmund Hovey

Contributed by *Ernest S. Dodge*

'THIS BARGAIN SHALL BE KEPT A SECRET'

Pacific, a small ship-rigged vessel, left New Bedford on her first voyage 18 June 1819 and returned to her home port 25 March 1820. According to Starbuck, her destination was 'Patagonia.' She returned with 2,200 barrels of whale oil. Following her first voyage, *Pacific* made some eighteen others, ranging from the South Atlantic and the coast of Brazil, to the North and South Pacific Oceans and the Indian Ocean.

She had many owners and captains. Most of her cruises were successful and she returned several times from voyages marked 'full ship.' Her early voyages were for whale oil and bone but later she brought home sperm oil in addition. Only one tragedy marred her record; in 1869, her mate, W. S. Church, died of wounds received when a bomb lance exploded. Starbuck does not record whaling voyages beyond 1877, but on this date he reports *Pacific* still 'out in 1877.'

The agreement made 4 October 1852 between the owners and the captain of *Pacific* is of interest as it gives some idea of what sometimes went on 'behind the scenes.' Captain Allen did not come up to the expectations of the owners as he arrived back in New Bedford 7 April 1855, having left there 5 October 1852, the day following the signed agreement. *Pacific* arrived in New Bedford with 2,025 barrels of whale oil and 20,500 pounds of bone, not a 'full ship' nor the quota mentioned in the 'agreement.'

The Agreement.

This agreement made the fourth day of October 1852 by and between James R. Allen of North Fairhaven in the State of Massachusetts, on one part, & W. C. Swift & Eben Paerry of New Bedford, also in the State of Mass., on the other part.

That sd [the said] J. R. Allen, for a consideration hereinafter mentioned, hereby bargains and agrees for the performance of a whaling voyage in the ship *Pacific* of sd New Bedford. It is understood that the voyage shall not exceed four years in duration; but should Capt Allen fill his ship in one season or in two seasons, he can, if favorable opportunities offer & he thinks it best for all concerned, ship home oil & bone, and protract his voyage to the length above mentioned.

The sd Swift & Perry, agree to pay the sd J. R. Allen, as aforesaid, the twelfth (12th.) lay; one dollar a barrel for sperm oil; one dollar a barrel for all over twenty three hundred barrels; and their note as agents of the ship, for twelve hundred dollars, payable at the end of the voyage, with interest from the time of sailing and six hundred dollars, in addition, provided he obtains a full ship (or equal to it, counting oil sent home) in thirty-four months from the time of sailing. By 'full ship' is meant what the ship can be seaworthy expected to stow, say 2900 bbls.

By 'favorable opportunity' for shipping oil, before mentioned, is meant, getting it shipped at reasonable rates & in vessels, when it will be wet often and not stowed any where near bone.

In settlement with such of his crew or officers, as may leave him, should he ship oil home and get more that would fill his ship, also in selling goods and transacting the ships business, generally it is understood that Capt. Allen will use his best endeavors to promote the ship's interest, consistent with right. It is understood that this bargain shall be kept a secret from all personal.

The sd Swift & Perry agree to pay the sd Capt Allen for such recruits, articles put on his ship to sell, as he may sell for profit, at the rate of five per cent.

To the faithful performance of the foregoing agreements & stipulations the parties mutually bind themselves in the penal sum of two thousand dollars (\$2000), in witness of which they have hereunto set their hands and seals at New Bedford the fifth day of October 1852.

Signed, sealed & delivered in the presence of
Ellis Mendell.

Swift & Perry. (seal)
James A. Allen. (seal)

The original agreement is in the possession of E. Lee Dorsett, M.D., who would greatly appreciate any corrections in the above data and any additional information regarding the whale-ship *Pacific*.

Contributed by E. Lee Dorsett, M.D.

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BY ROBERT GREENHALGH ALBION

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Abbreviations: *ADW*, *Annual Dog Watch*, No. 11 (Australia); *BuShips*, *Bureau of Ships Journal*; *D&HA*, *Dock and Harbour Authority*; *MCF*, *Maine Coast Fisherman*; *PLA*, *PLA Monthly* (Port of London Authority); *S&S*, *Ships and the Sea*; *SBF*, *Steamboat Bill of Facts*; *USNIP*, *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*; *USNWR*, *United States News & World Report*.

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XVI. Annuals

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